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TUNIS.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

We have had occasion frequently to call the attention of our readers to the various steps taken by his Highness, the Bey of Tunis, to free his territories from the curse and degradation of slavery and the slave-trade; but until now we have not been able to do full justice to the noble acts of this Mahomedan prince, not having had the necessary official documents before us. The recent publication of the Slave-trade Papers enables us to perform this duty, and to gratify our friends.

As a fitting introduction to this interesting subject we give the following extract of a dispatch from Sir Thomas Reade, the British Consul, residing at Tunis, to Lord Aberdeen, dated January 24th, 1846:—

Few are the events that could inspire me with a purer satisfaction, and none would give sufficient confidence implicitly to presume on your Lordship's approbation, than that which Providence has destined me to be the humble instrument of in this country.

Since April, 1841, when I made my first attempt to induce the Bey to take some preliminary dispositions for the repression of slavery, Her Majesty's Government were duly informed by me of the several steps taken by His Highness, with the final end always in view to adopt at a proper time such further energetic measures as would appear prudent for the total abolition of that nefarious traffic. Your Lordship may remember, that in order not to hurt the feelings of the Tunisians, as well as not to cause any heavy loss of property to slave-holders, His Highness began by prohibiting the exportation of slaves, and their importation from the interior; which necessarily reduced their number merely to that which already existed in the regency.

By subsequently declaring free all children born since the 8th December, 1842, slavery was limited to those individuals whom fortune had placed here as slaves; and by causing the market where they were sold to be solemnly pulled down, His Highness gradually prepared the public mind for the decisive step which it is now my fortunate lot to bring to your Lordship's knowledge, being the completion of a work for which I return my humble thanks to Providence, as well as to the encouraging approbation which Her Majesty's Government were pleased to afford to measures I had originally taken upon myself to recommend to the Bey, as those which would do him more credit in England than any other possible thing.

Inspired by this hope, and by the addresses he received from the Anti-slavery Society, His Highness saw that I had not deceived his confidence, and that, in fact, whilst a field was open on which he could put in action the noble and generous feelings nature has adorned him with, he was certain to reap a European name, which no envious comparison could possibly darken.

Slow though his march might have appeared, caution was a necessity imposed on His Highness, by the conflicting interests of the slave-holders, which were eventually, as well as by the prejudices implanted by religious precept in the mind of every Mussulman against any innovation in point of slavery; and considering all the difficulties he had to meet, I can only say, that the least of his measures on this question was a courageous attempt in the cause of humanity.

I anticipate, therefore, the surprise as well as the satisfaction which your Lordship is sure to feel on perusing the letter, a translation of which is enclosed, solemnly liberating all and every slave existing in the regency, and for ever destroying this kind of property.

I trust I may be allowed to say, that I cannot describe the pleasure I myself felt on thus seeing my recommendations put into execution in such a cause: the emancipation of from 30,000 to 50,000 slaves, effected by a single stroke of the pen, was, in fact, more than I flattered myself his Highness had power or reliance enough on his subjects to do in his dominions. He did it, however, and ascribed his work to Her Majesty's Government, never forgetting the sentiments which I was directed to make known to his Highness, in the despatch addressed to me, marked slave trade, and dated June 22, 1841.

I beg leave to enclose a copy of the circular addressed by the Bey to all the Consuls, as well as a copy of my answer to his Highness, advertent to his noble conduct on this occasion.

The Bey of Tunis to Sir Thomas Reade.

(TRANSLATION.)

25 Moharrem Elkram, 1262, (22 January, 1846.)

From the servant of God, the Mushir Ahmed Basha Bey, Prince of the Tunisian Dominions,

To our ally Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-General for the British Government at Tunis.

WHEREAS our aversion to the thralldom imposed on the human kind, which debases it to the condition of the brute creation, is well known to you, having conversed together on this matter.

Our attention has been directed to the repression of this traffic, as well as to its total abolition, with a due regard, however, to the interests of our subjects, so as not to cause them a loss of property.

We commenced first by prohibiting their embarkation for foreign countries as objects of commerce, as we wrote to you on the 9th Rabi'h 1st, 1257.

Subsequent to which we sent orders to the places situated on the road of the caravans coming from Ghadames, not to permit any person to enter our territory with any slave as an article of sale; and should any refuse to do so, and not return, the slave should be liberated to his loss, conformably to what we informed you on the 17th Rabi'h, 1258.

We afterwards abolished the market established for their sale in our capital (thus giving up the revenue which our Government reaped from it), declared all slaves that should enter our kingdom by land or by sea, should be free; and further ordered that every one born a slave on our dominions should be considered free from the very instant of its birth, and that he could neither be sold or bought, as we informed you thereof on the 6th Dyelkaada, 1258.

Our resolutions were likewise strengthened, and we felt a real satisfaction at the accord which existed between our sentiments and those expressed by the Anti-slavery Society, which ennobles itself by upholding the dignity of mankind, in the letter we received on its part, and which we answered on Rabi'h 1st, 1258.

This affair never ceased to be the object of our attention, as well as the central point of our consideration; and we have thought proper to publish, that we have abolished slavery in all our dominions; for we consider all slaves existing in our territory as being free, and do not recognise the legality of their being kept as a property.

We have sent some notaries to the sanctuary of Sidy Mahrez in town, and to the sanctuary of Ezzawya Elboucria, in the suburb of Bab Essuika, as well as in that of Sidy Mousour, in the suburb of Bab Elgezirah, with the object of writing in favour of such slaves as should present themselves to them a document constituting them free on our part, and which (document) shall be presented to us for the apposition of our seal; and no right of property on their persons shall be alleged by their masters.

We have likewise sent the necessary orders to all the governors

in our Tunisian kingdom; and, having determined on writing a circular to all the consuls of friendly governments in our capital, you shall equally with them receive a copy of such a circular. We hastened to forward to you this letter, for you know our sentiments and what we spoke together on the subject.

We thank Providence for the aid it has afforded us in putting an end to this business, which we know is also an object of attention to the great and illustrious British Government; and we pray the Most High that our opinions be always in unison with their own in every point.

May the Lord keep you in his safeguard!

Circular addressed by the Bey of Tunis to all the Consuls.

(TRANSLATION.)

From the servant of God, the Mushir Ahmed Basha Bey, Prince of the Tunisian Dominions,

To our ally Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-General of the British Government at Tunis.

The servitude imposed on a part of the human kind whom God has created is a very cruel thing, and our heart shrinks from it.

It never ceased to be the object of our attention for years past, which we employed in adopting such proper means as could bring us to its extirpation, as is well known to you.

Now, therefore, we have thought proper to publish that we have abolished men's slavery in all our dominions, inasmuch as we regard all slaves who are on our territory as free, and do not recognise the legality of their being kept as a property.

We have sent the necessary orders to all the governors of our Tunisian kingdom, and inform you thereof in order that you may know that all slaves that shall touch our territory, by sea or by land, shall become free.

May you live under the protection of God!

Written in Moharrem, 1262, (23rd January, 1846).

Sir Thomas Reade to the Bey of Tunis.

Tunis, January 24, 1846.

YOUR HIGHNESS,—If, listening to the admiration created in me by your Highness' actions, I tried to reproduce it here, my efforts would prove but vain; for indeed your Highness' actions are beyond description.

Great, noble is the work which Providence has finally afforded you the means to accomplish in your dominions.

The generosity of your Highness' character could not permit that men should suffer where you reign, and, guided by a strong will, your Highness has broken down the chains that bound a whole generation of human beings.

Your Highness, a lasting glory is truly the fruit which, together with a recompense from heaven, you will reap from the career you have lately pursued.

On my own part, when I come to reflect on the policy which your Highness has followed to gain your point, when I consider the difficulties which must now have hindered your march, and now totally arrested it, I say, your policy was the wisest of all policies; for it brought your Highness to where you wished to reach, and induced your subjects to make concessions, which, while they show the degree of civilization they have attained during your Highness' reign, prove how much they cherish their ruler.

Knowing the interest which her Majesty's Government take in similar matters, your Highness has charged me specially to communicate it to them; and permit me to say, that your letter dated Moharrem the 25th, which I shall duly transmit, is the most durable monument that could be raised to your name, not only in England, but in the whole world.

May your Highness dictate such letters for many many years!

May your actions be a constant object of praise with those who do not flatter; and, your Highness, the applause your name has already received from her Majesty's Government is the pledge of the expressions which will be directed to you in the name of my most August Sovereign on this occasion.

I have, &c.,

His Highness the Bey of Tunis. (Signed) T. READE.

Sir Thomas Reade to the Earl of Aberdeen

Tunis, March 31, 1846.

(Received April 25.)

MY LORD,—With reference to my despatch, marked Slave-trade, dated the 24th of January last, I beg leave to inform your

lordship, that his Highness the Bey has been most active in carrying into effect the orders which he had issued for the abolition of slavery in his dominions.

Of course, it was to be expected that many persons would secrete their slaves, and use measures to prevent them obtaining their *teskerehts* of freedom; but the measures which his Highness adopted have been so effectual in searching out such cases, that I may now fairly state that slavery in this Regency no longer exists; and I beg leave to enclose an extract from a letter which I have this day received from a missionary who is making a tour through the Regency, which your Lordship will perceive fully bears out my statement.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) T. READE.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., &c.

Mr. Davis to Sir Thomas Reade.

Rufsa, March 26, 1846.

You will, I am sure, be very glad to hear to what extent the measures his Highness has adopted for the abolition of slavery are carried into effect, even in the most distant parts of the Regency. The Bey of the Camp having been informed by a black woman at Kairepan, that at a Marabout near Firiana, about thirty blacks were in chains because they desired their liberty, he instantly despatched a number of Bowabs to have them brought to the Camp. They arrived this morning, and the Bey instantly gave orders to have their *atkaas* (*teskerehts*) written and gave them their liberty.

I have made inquiries in other parts, and I am convinced it may now be safely declared, that slavery is abolished in the Regency of Tunis.

I inform you of this because I know it will give you pleasure.

The Earl of Aberdeen to Sir Thomas Reade.

Foreign Office, June 24, 1846.

SIR,—I duly received and laid before the Queen your despatch, marked Slave-trade, dated the 24th of January last, the acknowledgment of which has been accidentally delayed.

The communications which his Highness the Bey has addressed to you, and of which copies are enclosed in your despatch, announcing the total abolition of slavery in the Tunisian dominions, have been received by her Majesty's Government with the greatest satisfaction.

On the occasion of the preliminary steps which the Bey had taken in the year 1841, with respect to the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery, you were instructed to assure his Highness that nothing could tend to interest the English nation in his favour so strongly as a continuance in that course; and you may now confidently affirm that the measures subsequently taken and just brought to a final issue, in fulfilment of his Highness' generous professions in this great cause of humanity, are well calculated to cement those feelings of friendship and respect towards the person of his Highness, which it is so much the desire of Her Majesty's Government to foster and uphold.

You will convey these sentiments officially to his Highness the Bey, together with the warm acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for the announcement of these philanthropic measures in which they take so deep an interest; and you will at the same time assure his Highness that Her Majesty and the British nation fully appreciate, not only the measures themselves, but the difficulties which his Highness has had to overcome in the course of carrying out his enlightened and humane policy with a due regard to the interests of his subjects; and that the perseverance with which he has progressively pursued that noble object to its present consummation commands the unmixed admiration of Her Majesty's Government.

In concluding this despatch, I have great satisfaction in signifying to you Her Majesty's approval of the exertions which you have used in assisting to bring about, by your advice and encouragement, this desired object.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ABERDEEN.

Sir Thomas Reade, &c. &c.

—*Slave-trade papers, Class D, 1847, pp. 63—67.*

Whilst the thanks of the civilized world, and especially of abolitionists, are eminently due to his Highness the Bey of Tunis, for an act which will render his name illustrious in history, we

are certain our countrymen will not forget the claims which Sir Thomas Reade has on their gratitude for the noble part he has taken in this important affair. It were well if British functionaries, residing in foreign parts, were to copy his excellent example.

TRIPOLI.

One of the effects of the abolition of the slave-markets in Tunis, has been the reduction of the internal slave-trade in Northern Africa, and an increase in legitimate commerce. Mr. Vice-Consul Gagliuffi, residing at Mourzouk, writing to the Consul-general, Colonel Warrington, at Tripoli, under date the 3rd January, 1846, says, "The number of slaves arrived at this place in the course of the year 1845, was,

From Bournou	576
Soudan.....	377
Bournou and Soudan via Ghat	152
Total.....	1105

"The number of males was almost the half; the deaths very few, do not exceed 10 per cent. according to informations.

"From the above statement it is easy to see the sensible diminution of this traffic, so that the years 1844 and 1845, together, do not surpass the number of those arrived in 1843. *Vice-versâ*, it is, to your knowledge, the large increase of products of the interior, as ivory, senna, wax, feathers, gums, and gold, which were imported here during the two above-mentioned years; an equal increase took place in the disposal of our manufactures."

On the other hand it is to be feared that the slave-trade with Tripoli may increase, unless the late decision of the Sublime Porte shall be of sufficient force to control the movements of its vassal, the Bey of that country.

Colonel Warrington also expresses his fears that numbers of blacks emancipated in Tunis will be smuggled into Tripoli from Gerbe, Sfax, and other ports in Tunis, and sold in the usual way. One case of this kind he reported to Sir Stratford Canning, on the 23rd of March, 1846, in the following terms:—

Your Excellency, without doubt, has heard of the abolition of slavery by the Bey of Tunis. I naturally supposed that numerous evil-disposed persons would, in a clandestine way, pass those slaves recently made free through Tripoli. This morning I found a poor black had sought asylum under the English flag. I examined him, and No. 1 is a copy of his statement. I immediately waited on the Pacha, and acquainted him with what had passed, and of the act of the Bey of Tunis, and I informed his Highness that every black coming from Tunis ought to be considered as free. The Pacha asked if I had received instructions relating thereto, as he had not any from the Ottoman Government. After some discussion it was agreed that the case should be referred to Constantinople, and till an answer arrived the black should remain with me.

At the Pacha's request I have given him a copy of the proclamation of the Bay of Tunis, and I shall send the particulars of this transaction to my colleague Sir Thomas Reade, so that he may use his judgment whether or not to bring it before the Bey, a subject of his having violated his decree in a most flagrant manner.

Statement of Black Slave.

March 23, 1846.

Q. What is your name?

A. Mady.

Q. When did you arrive here?

A. The day before yesterday.

Q. From where?

A. From Gerba, by land.

Q. How many days were you coming?

A. Five days.

Q. How many came with you?

A. One black man, self, and two women.

Q. In charge of whom?

A. Son of my old master.

Q. What is son's name?

A. Mohamed Sulleman Ben Jyad.

Q. What name master?

A. Sulleman Jyad.

Q. When were you restored to freedom?

A. About two months since, when the public crier went about proclaiming there was no slavery, and that the blacks were free men as well as the whites.

Q. Did your master send you from Gerba by force?

A. By treachery. The master said, you must all go out to guard the sheep, having arranged with a boatman to take them to Gargiz, having tied the hands of myself and other black man behind our backs. On our arrival at Gargiz we were put in irons for three days, when we were brought to Tripoli as prisoners. Yesterday the two black women were sold privately, one for 600 sbilias, and the other for 250 sbilias of Tunis; the other black man sold for 230 sbilias of Tunis, and believe he was bought for the Consul of Tunis.

Q. Were you offered for sale?

A. Yes, in a public bazaar, for 800 piastres of Constantinople (40 mabobes); and to-day I was again taken to the bazaar. I escaped, and took protection with the English Consul.

(Signed) H. WARRINGTON.

(Signed) FREDERICK WARRINGTON, Interpreter.

—*Ibid.* pp. 59. 60.

We have no doubt that His Highness the Bey of Tunis has taken the necessary steps to prevent such practices in future, and to inflict exemplary punishment on such of his subjects as violate the law of emancipation.

MOROCCO.

The conduct of the Emperor of Morocco is in striking contrast with that of the Bey of Tunis. Not content with importing slaves into his dominions from the African territories contiguous to his own, he seeks his eunuchs from Egypt, and wishes to obtain for them a free passage through British possessions, or in the waters over which this country has control. The following extracts from the correspondence of Mr. Consul Hay, addressed to Lord Aberdeen, dated June 12, 1846, will explain this circumstance, and, we regret to say, will show that the French authorities are less scrupulous than our own on this point:—

The French steamer-of-war "*Etna*," Captain d'Auge d'Orsay, arrived here yesterday morning from Marseilles and Oran, having on board seven slaves, eunuchs, and one female slave, in charge of the son of the principal Moorish merchant of this place, Hadj Abdecine Ghassal, which person had been sent to Alexandria, some months ago, by the Provincial Governor, Cid Booselham Ben Aby, for the express purpose of purchasing these slaves, destined, it appears, for the Sultan's harem.

The principal object of the "*Etna's*" visit to Tangier, it is supposed, has been for the conveyance of these slaves, though I presume they have come under the denomination of servants or officers of the Sultan. This does not, however, blind the Moors to the fact, that the French Government has lent itself to the conveyance of these slaves, notwithstanding the treaty engagements and the existence of a heavy French armament off the western coast of Africa acting in concert with the British squadron to put an end to the slave-trade.

I have already had the honour of communicating to your Lordship the Cozeer Ben Drus' language respecting our hindrance of the passage of slaves through British possessions, or in the seas where the British flag may be justified in interfering. Cid Booselham, by order of his Government, had also frequently held a similar language to my late predecessor, and subsequently to myself, on this subject, and had even endeavoured, by fair promises of the Sultan's high favour and pleasure towards the British, to urge us to obtain from Her Majesty's Government a tacit acquiescence to the free passage through Malta of such eunuchs (slaves) as he said might alone be required for the use of the Sultan's harem, for His Excellency dwelt upon the impossibility of procuring eunuchs in any other manner, as the Moors do not possess the art of mutilating for this vile purpose the negro children brought from the interior.

The replies of both my father and myself on this subject have ever been in accordance with the unfeigned views of humanity entertained by Her Majesty's Government; and, when all arguments failed in engaging them to abandon this traffic in human blood, the discussion with His Excellency ended in a decided refusal on our part to listen to any further representations on such a subject.

Cid Booselham on one occasion told me that the French would have less difficulty in meeting the Sultan's wishes on this point than ourselves, to which assertion I had replied at that time by a positive contradiction of the probability of the French Government lending itself to any such proposition, under whatever denomination these slaves may have been brought, and for whatever purpose they may be destined.

This proceeding will afford, in some measure, an insight into the insistence of the Moorish minister on this subject.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch, the Acting Vice-Consul informs me that he witnessed the landing of these slaves, who on their disembarkation were conducted by three soldiers of Cid Booselham to his residence in the castle.

Mr. Drummond Hay in a subsequent despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen, says:—"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the eunuch slaves brought in the French steamer-of-war "*Etna*" were, at the request of the Provincial Governor, Cid Booselham Ben Abi, granted a passage to Mogador on board the French steamer-of-war "*Le Caiman*," which conveys the new French Consul, M. Soulaube Bodice, to his post at that port, and thence, I understand, the "*Caiman*" proceeds to Senegal. These slaves on their arrival at Mogador, will proceed thence to the Sultan's Court, being destined, as I am informed, for the household of his Shereefain Majesty."—(*Ibid.* pp. 69, 70.)

It will be remembered that about three years ago, the Anti-slavery Society had a correspondence with Lord Aberdeen respecting the introduction, by a British vessel, *via* Gibraltar, of twelve slaves (eunuchs), for the use of the Emperor Abderahman. It would now appear that orders have been given to prevent this monstrous violation of British law in future. We trust that the French Government will follow the example.

ALGIERS.

There is much reason to fear that African slaves are frequently introduced into the French possessions in North Africa; and, that if not actually sold in public, are privately vended to the Arab families residing there. This is a subject which we trust will gain the attention of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in France. There can be no doubt that a large amount of slavery exists in Algiers, and that it is justified by many French functionaries, especially by Marshal Bugeaud, as a political necessity.—(*Slave-trade Papers*, c. 1847, pp. 45, 46.)

SPAIN.

Our treaties with Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade, date as far back as 1817. Thirty years have consequently elapsed since the Government of Spain solemnly pledged itself to put an end to the atrocious traffic; yet we believe, notwithstanding the diplomatic veil thrown over the subject at this time, that the object of the treaties is as far from accomplishment as ever; that Spain is as faithless now as she has ever been on this subject; and that it is absurd on the part of the British Government to continue negotiations with that Power on its present footing.

We perceive by the slave-trade papers of 1846, that a penal law has been enacted against the slave-trade by the Government of Isabella II. That is to say, twenty-five years after the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade was signed, a law has been passed by the Spanish Cortes to punish Spanish subjects for aiding and abetting the atrocious traffic. This, no doubt, will be considered a great triumph by our government, but we need scarcely say that it will be a dead letter. It has been wrung from a reluctant government, and is to be administered by functionaries whose interests and whose prejudices are all in favour of the continuance of the trade.

PENAL LAW FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Donna Isabella II., by the grace of God and the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, Queen of Spain, to all those who may see and understand the present, be it known, that the Cortes have decreed, and we have sanctioned the following:—

TITLE I.

Penalties to which those who are engaged or take a part in the illicit traffic of slaves are liable.

Article 1. The masters, supercargoes, pilots, and boatswains of vessels with bozal negroes on board, proceeding from the continent of Africa, captured by the cruisers authorized to exercise the right of search, shall be condemned to the penalty of six years presidio (convict establishment), in case of their having made no resistance; to eight years of the same if they have resisted, without any loss of lives or severe wounds arising from it; and should they occasion any of these, such penalty shall be inflicted on them as is fixed by the laws for crimes of that sort.

Article 2. The sailors and other individuals forming the crew of the vessel captured with bozal negroes on board, proceeding from the continent of Africa, shall incur the penalty of four years presidio, if they

have made no resistance, and that of six years of the same in case of their having resisted, besides the penalties to which they may be liable for the loss of lives or wounds they may have occasioned.

Article 3. The masters, pilots, supercargoes, and boatswains of a vessel fitted out for the slave-trade, but on board of which no negroes shall be found, shall incur the following penalties:—

If the vessel be captured on the coasts of the African continent, while lying at anchor, or at a distance less than three miles from them, being engaged in the purchase of slaves, the penalty of six years presidio shall be inflicted; that of four years should the vessel be captured on the high sea, and steering for that destination; and that of two years of the same, if the vessel were detained in the port of departure.

Article 4. The sailors and other individuals of the crew of such vessel shall incur half the penalties assigned in the preceding article, according to the respective cases.

Article 5. The owners of the vessel, the outfitters, the proprietors of the cargo, and those on whose account the expedition is made, shall be condemned to as many years banishment, at a distance greater than fifty leagues from their place of residence, as those of presidio inflicted upon the master of the vessel.

Moreover, a fine shall be exacted from them, which shall never be under 1000 hard dollars, and may be increased up to 10,000 dollars, according to the gravity of the circumstances of the crime.

In cases of insolvency, the penalty of banishment shall be increased at the rate of one year for every 1000 dollars. They will only be free from all responsibility if they prove that they were ignorant of the use which the master and crew have made of the vessel for that illicit traffic.

Article 6. Besides the penalties established in the preceding article, the guilty parties shall incur the penalty of confiscation of the vessel, and of all the objects found on board of her; the vessel shall be cut to pieces, and sold by separate portions, according to the prescriptions of the treaty of 1835.

Article 7. The crimes committed in a vessel against the African bozal negroes embarked on her, shall be punished with the penalties marked by common law for such offences.

Article 8. In case of a relapse, the penalties established in the preceding articles shall be increased from a third part to a half.

TITLE II.

Directions for the trial of the crimes alluded to in the present law.

Article 9. The superior authorities, tribunals, ordinary judges, and her Majesty's fiscals, can and must proceed, in their respective cases, against those who are engaged in this illicit traffic, either officially or by a denunciation, or deposition made with the legal requisites, whenever they become aware that a maritime expedition of that kind is being prepared, or that it has arrived on the coast with a cargo of slaves proceeding from the continent of Africa; but in no case, and at no time, shall it be permitted to institute any proceedings against, nor molest in their possession, the proprietors of slaves, under the pretext of their origin or procedency.

Article 10. The authorities and public servants residing in a place where a landing of bozal negroes, recently arrived from the African continent, has been carried into effect, if any complicity or connivance on their part by bribery should be proved, shall incur the penalty marked by the laws for that sort of crimes.

If it should appear from the trial that they have been negligent or committed any omission, and should their fault be considered slight, they shall be dismissed from their posts; should the fault be a grave one, the aforesaid authorities shall incur the penalty of from six months to four years suspension from their charge.

Article 11. The penalty of suspension from his charge for from two to four years shall be inflicted on the notary, who should authorize a deed or any other document in contravention of this law; and should he relapse, he shall be perpetually forbidden to exercise the said charge.

Article 12. The mixed tribunals mentioned in the treaty of 1835 shall transmit, the one established in the Antilles, to the Governors and Captains-General of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and the other, established at Sierra Leone, to the Regente of the Court of Justice of the Canary Islands, all the documents relating to the trial, in case of any vessel having been declared to be a lawful prize, together with the persons seized on board of the same, in order that the proper tribunals may be enabled to institute the necessary trial for the investigation of the crime and infliction of the penalties established by this law.

In the formation of these proceedings, and in the examination of evidence respecting the crimes alluded to in the present law, the prescriptions of the laws of the kingdom for common crimes shall be observed.

Article 13. The competent tribunals for the institution and decision of these trials are:—

In the Peninsula, the Judges of First Instance, with power to appeal to the Territorial Courts of Justice; in the Canary Islands, the Judge in First Instance of the city of Las Palmas, with power to appeal to the Territorial Court of Justice; and in the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, their Territorial Courts of Justice in First and Second Instance. Every

fuero (privilege) is hereby derogated in all trials instituted upon the aforesaid crimes.

Article 14. For the punctual fulfilment and execution of this Law, the periods of one month, for the Peninsula and the adjacent islands; of three months, for the provinces of America; and of six months for Africa, are hereby fixed, to be reckoned from the day of its promulgation.

We consequently command all Tribunals, Justices, Officers, Governors, and other Authorities, as well civil and military as ecclesiastical, of whatever class and rank they may be, to fulfil the present Law, and cause it to be fulfilled, observed, and executed in all its parts.

Given in the Palace, this 2nd day of March, 1845.

(Signed) MANU REGIA.

(Countersigned) FRANCISCO MARTINEZ DE LA ROSA.

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

—*Slave-trade papers, class B, 1846, pp. 23—25.*

Such is the law. Mr. Consul Crawford informs us that it was promulgated at the Havana on the 26th of April following, but in the very dispatch, in which he announces that fact to Lord Aberdeen, he states that on the previous night (5th of May, 1845), negroes had been landed at Chorero. Mr. C. says:—

“The Penal Laws were promulgated by authority here in the *Diario* of the 26th ultimo; but of what use are any enactments, when connivance such as must have been practised upon this occasion, permits the guilty parties to escape, after landing the negroes where there is a military post, and almost under the guns of Fort Principe?” — *Slave-trade papers, 1846, class B, p. 135.*

In another dispatch, after announcing the disembarkation of about 300 negroes at Coginias, near the Havana, Mr. Crawford says:—

“I feel myself under the painful necessity of repeating to your Lordship the expression of my conviction, that it is in vain for us to expect any measures will be adopted to stop this infernal traffic by General O'Donnell; on the contrary, the public manner, in which this last cargo was disposed of, and the very extensive expeditions sent off and preparing for future operations, are demonstrative of fixed arrangements, and that those engaged in the slave-trade count upon protection here at any rate; so that, either the assurances given by the Spanish Government as to the nature of the instructions sent to the Captain-General are not to be depended upon, or they are disregarded by his Excellency.

“Her Majesty's functionaries here, continue to suffer the indignity of having their communications returned, with a denial of their right of interference. The Treaties are violated under our very eyes. Even the slave-traders have, within the present month, made proposals to our merchants, with schemes for goods adapted to their purposes on the coast of Africa, to an enormous extent, which, I am happy to say, have been rejected; and several cargoes of miserable victims are daily expected on the coast of this island.

“It will be easily understood by your Lordship, that, although schemes for such goods have been refused by British merchants, others will be found to execute them.” — *Ibid. p. 124.*

We cannot allow the 9th article of the law, quoted above, to pass without notice. It is an insidious attempt to nullify one portion, and, in our judgment, the most important, of the treaty stipulations between this country and Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade. There can be no doubt that every African slave imported into the Spanish Colonies since 1820, is to all intents and purposes entitled to his liberty, and that his freedom is guaranteed not less by treaty, than by Spanish law. Yet we find in this 9th article the following reservation made, viz.—“*in no case, and at no time, shall it be permitted to institute any proceedings against, nor molest in their possession, the proprietors of slaves, under the pretext of their origin or procedency.*” But for the treaty, this would legalize the enslavement of all the Africans who have been, or may hereafter be imported into Cuba and Porto Rico, provided only that the purchasers can manage to escape the vigilance of the British Cruizers. On this important subject we regret to see the course adopted by Lord Aberdeen. Instead of insisting upon the right of this country to the release of the Africans illicitly imported into the Spanish Colonies since the year 1820, his Lordship contents himself with protesting against any construction of this law, which “*shall prevent inquiry being made into the case of any negroes newly imported into the Spanish possessions in defiance of law or treaty, or which shall interfere with justice being done to any emancipated negroes who may have again been consigned to slavery.*” (*Ibid. p. 61.*) It is, we fear, to be apprehended, that all Africans, no matter how obtained in times past, are to be abandoned to the most

terrible of all conditions, though their liberty is actually guaranteed both by treaty and by law, and who would, but for the course unfortunately pursued, be probably now in the possession of their freedom. Will Lord Palmerston ratify Lord Aberdeen's view of the case, or will he act a more manly and humane part? For ourselves, nothing shall ever lead us to demand less than the liberty of these deeply and doubly wronged people, or cause us to cease to urge on the Government the duty of securing their complete emancipation.

PROPOSAL OF THE COLONIAL COUNCIL OF GUADELOUPE TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.

In the year 1834, the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies was formed. Some of the most eminent statesmen and philanthropists immediately joined it. Among these we may mention the Duc de Broglie, the Marquises de Tracey and Rochefoucauld Liancourt, the Baron Roger, and MM. Odilon Barrot, Georges Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, Isambert, Lacrosse, de Toqueville, de Beaumont, Carnot, Henri, Lutteroth, &c., &c., &c. They did not, however, organize on the principle of immediate and entire abolition—in fact they had no plan, at least they never presented one to the Chambers—but they provoked frequent discussions there, and were instrumental in circulating a large amount of information on the subject of slavery, and of extorting from the Government and the Chambers, a decision that slavery ought and must be abolished.

Thirteen years have now passed since the institution of the society, and slavery is not abolished. A large portion of those who were then slaves have died, and others have reached premature old age. Those who were then young are now toiling and groaning under the yoke, and a multitude of children have been born to inherit the sad condition of their parents. It is true laws have been passed and money voted by the French Legislature to ameliorate their condition; that is, to fix within certain limits the hours of labour and repose, and the maximum and kind of punishment that can be inflicted by the master; to provide for their proper sustenance, shelter, and clothing; to secure to them the right of self-redemption, and the possession of any property they may acquire by lawful means; and to promote their mental and moral training. It has been found, however, that fair as the schemes of amelioration may appear in the form of laws and ordinances, in practice they amount almost to nothing. The slaves are still overworked, underfed, are still flogged and fettered and immured in dungeons, are still miserably clothed, and badly housed, are still subjected to great difficulties in obtaining their liberty, and in securing their little properties, are still sold and separated, and are still denied the advantage of mental and moral training.

The proofs of this will be found in existing laws, in the atrocities brought under the consideration of the criminal courts, the numerous suicides which take place, the attempts, successful and otherwise, at escape to the British colonies, the numerous poisonings, and in the longing desire which it is known the slaves entertain for their freedom.

Just in proportion as the facts of the case become known, is the indignation of the French people kindled against the system which engenders them. We therefore find that an earnest and extending cry is being heard in France for its immediate and total abolition; and that cry will be heard in the palace, the legislative chambers, and the colonies, until it shall become irresistible, and issue in the deliverance of the oppressed slave from his chains.

We have lately had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the debates in the Chamber of Deputies. It was, in our judgment, the first sincere response of that body to the prayers of the people for emancipation; and it has produced its fruit in the colonies. The leading men in Guadeloupe now begin to think the abolition of slavery to be inevitable, and they evidently wish to take the initiative; and, if possible, forestall the mother country in this noble work. The Colonial Council of that island, has formally demanded emancipation in an address to the king, of which the following is a translation:—

“SIRE,—The law of the 18th of July, 1845, appeared to have been designed to secure the colonies, for some years to come, against dangerous innovations; but it has not answered its purpose in consequence of the over-powering demands of public opinion.

“The Colonial Council of Guadeloupe would associate itself with the intention of France. It offers to your Majesty, in the name of the colony, to proceed with her in the way of emancipation.

"In frankly entering upon this course the Council would call the attention of your Majesty to the utility of its concurrence in the measures to be taken in order to effect, without compromising the happiness and security of all, the charge which it accepts; it protests its devotion to the cause which it embraces, and, in proof of its sincerity, it would without delay enter upon the accomplishment of the task which it imposes upon itself.

"Already a commission has been named by the Council; it has for its object to prepare a plan which, in view of the social change to take place in the colonies, should have for its aim the maintenance of labour, and for its base the principle of association, which however impossible of application in Europe, may be realized in countries where are already formed groups of families and society.

"If the wishes of the Council are heard, your Majesty will deign to consult the plan which may be prepared, as one of the elements which should regulate the conditions of emancipation, of which your Government has frequently proclaimed the justice.

"The exceptional situation of the colonies will explain the exclusion, up to the present time, of the colonists from the elective Chamber, but the course which the Council now proposes to take will remove this distinction; and they ask of your Majesty to be allowed to participate in the national representation.

"Sire, all partial emancipation, by introducing causes of disaffection in the groups which at present compose Colonial Society, would be fatal to the success of the work, which we would accomplish in connexion with France. The Council prays your Majesty to preserve the colonies from the evils which would inevitably result from such a measure.

"We are with profound respect," &c., &c.

The *Semeur*, in commenting on this important document, makes the following remarks:—

"The Colonial council acts wisely. At the moment it demands equality of representation for the colonists, it offers to put an end to the exceptional state of things which exists, which otherwise would be an inseparable obstacle to the success of its demands. It announces, besides, that it is engaged in elaborating a plan of emancipation; that it is opposed to a partial emancipation; that is to say, it pronounces against the scheme which has obtained so much favour in the Chamber of Peers. All this is good; but it should teach abolitionists in France to redouble their efforts, at a time when a session so barren of good legislation as the last, has finished; they should now resolve to neglect no means to secure the complete abolition of slavery in that which will succeed it.

"It is, as the Colonial council says, the rapid growth of the new ideas respecting emancipation, which compels the colonies to associate themselves with France in her determination. Than this we know of no finer homage to what is right, nor of a more noble encouragement to action. It is then admitted that in propagating right sentiments in behalf of justice and humanity, the labour has not been in vain. Interests badly understood, and even prejudice itself, have been vanquished by principle.

"We wait with impatience the promised plan of emancipation; certainly the colonists ought to have a voice in the matter, and our desire is that their propositions should be taken into serious consideration. Provided that liberty be not a disguised slavery, that in enfranchising the Negroes every facility should be given them to realize their new condition, we should not think necessary to be too strictly with their old masters. It appears from other sources than the address to the king, that the colonists will expect an indemnity."

We are satisfied that there is not a single planter who has a real stake in the colonies, but who would prefer immediate and simultaneous to gradual and partial emancipation. If the act of emancipation should proceed from them, so much the better, for it will come as a grace, if it be frankly and fully given, and be doubly valued by their slaves. Let the colonists heartily and honestly set about this work, and they will not only be applauded by their own countrymen, but by the friends of humanity and freedom throughout the world. But let them beware of restricting the liberty which they profess themselves willing to bestow—let them on the contrary, confide in the goodwill and gratitude of the people, and we feel assured that they will find these virtues stronger than coercive laws, and more effective in the maintenance of order and the promotion of industry, than the most rigid discipline, and the most active police.

DEATH OF THE REV. AMOS A. PHELPS.

We have learned with deep regret the decease of one of the most talented, conscientious, and devoted abolitionists of the United States, the late corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Rev. A. A. Phelps. He died at Roxbury, July the 29th, at the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. E. D. Moore, Editor of the *Boston Reporter*, in the forty-third year of his age, of pulmonary consumption. Mr. Phelps was in all respects a superior man; but if he excelled in any particular, it was in the clearness of his intellectual perceptions, and the logical accuracy of his style. Others of his contemporaries and fellow-labourers in the anti-slavery cause were more brilliant, both as speakers and writers, but none of them was more convincing. His lectures on slavery, published several years since, were a masterpiece of apposite facts, cogent reasoning, and biblical illustration; and have ever since been justly regarded as one of the text-books of abolitionists. The loss of this devoted friend of the anti-slavery cause, will be long and severely felt. We gather the following particulars from the papers which have reached us.

Mr. Phelps was born of pious but humble parents, at Farmington, Connecticut, the 11th November, 1804. He graduated at Yale college in 1826. He subsequently spent two years at Andover, and one year at New Haven. His collegiate and theological education being complete he became the pastor of a Congregational Church at Hopkinton, Massachusetts at the age of twenty-seven. He subsequently became the pastor of the church, at Pine-street, Boston. It was during the time he was associated with that Christian community, in the early part of 1833, that his attention was first drawn to the anti-slavery cause; a careful investigation of the subject led him to repudiate the scheme of colonization as delusive; and to embrace the doctrine of immediate emancipation. From this time he gave himself heartily and unreservedly to the cause of the slave, and has been one of its most diligent, disinterested, and useful advocates.

Mr. Phelps was a member of the Convention, at Philadelphia, in December, 1833, which organized the American Anti-slavery Society. Early, we believe, in the next year, he resigned the pastoral charge of the Pine-street church, that he might devote his whole energies to the great cause, which, with two or three intermissions, occupied the remainder of his active and useful life. In 1834, Mr. P. being then the most prominent agent of the Society, accompanied Mr. George Thompson, in his anti-slavery tour through the greater part of New England, and portions of New York; and rendered the anti-slavery cause the greatest service.

After Mr. Thompson was driven from the country, Mr. Phelps continued to labour in various capacities in the anti-slavery enterprise. As an agent of the American Society, and as the general agent and secretary of the Massachusetts Society, and as the editor of the *Emancipator*, he spent the five or six years which followed 1835 performing an incredible amount of labour, exhibiting his usual wisdom and skill, addressing public audiences, conventions, ecclesiastical and legislative bodies, writing reports, counselling in committees, issuing addresses, publishing pamphlets, and contributing to newspapers, confronting mobs, enduring persecution, combatting prejudices, refuting sophistries, reasoning down objections, urging the churches and ministry to duty, restraining wayward fanaticism, and rebuking slumbering inactivity, and always calm, firm, cautious, zealous, hopeful, modest, yielding everything to conciliation but principle: ah, the cause of solid, staid, enduring abolition in New England knows not how much it is indebted to him, for the hold it now has on the common sense and conscience of the people!

Mr. Phelps was an invaluable man in the more private departments of anti-slavery labour—the places where the measures were to be devised and adopted by which the public mind was to be aroused and moulded to the great enterprise. Those who were accustomed to act with him on committees in New York and Boston, will bear witness to his great merits as a counsellor in trying emergencies. As fertile in expedients as he was calm in judgment, as cautious to devise as he was prompt to execute, there was no crisis which he was not able to face with a clear eye and an unperturbed spirit, and overmaster the difficulties which beset the cause by his well-balanced mind, practical sagacity, and unflinching courage; thus often patiently working through obstacles and leading his brethren through paths where they alone were ready to stumble and fall.

Mr. Phelps was a man of the most unblemished morals, of the

sternest adherence to his convictions of duty, and though far removed from sectarian bigotry, he possessed firmly settled theological opinions, and was devotedly pious. He was a warm friend, cherishing all the domestic affections, and loved the cause of the slave not merely as a principle of duty, but from the impulses of the heart. All who corresponded with him will remember his almost invariable mode of closing his letters, "*Your's for the slave.*"

Among the first to discover that policy as well as duty pointed to the use of the suffrage for the overthrow of slavery, Mr. P. became the warm advocate of political action. He regarded human government not as a thing of man's device, but as a divinely appointed institution; and politics, not as a mere chess-board for the display of the arts, or the trickeries, or the ambition of wily and aspiring men, but as one of God's agencies for the establishment of His kingdom on earth. Of course, then, he carried his religion into his politics; and his abolition being the result of religious conviction, he was among the first to advocate the erection of an anti-slavery standard of political action. He early discovered the controlling influence of the slave power upon the two leading parties of the country, and was in the front rank of the wise and determined few who declared for an independent political party. To no other man is the Liberty party of Massachusetts so much indebted for its organization and establishment, as to him. His efforts to this end during the first year of its existence were among the most untiring and able of the great services which he rendered the cause of humanity. His doctrines on this subject are embodied in the motto at the head of many Liberty newspapers, and which he originated—"LIBERTY THE RIGHT OF ALL—LAW ITS DEFENCE."

In 1844, he attended the second World's Convention in London, and was among the most active and influential of its members. He ever took a warm interest and leading part in the work of purifying the churches, and the ecclesiastical organizations and benevolent societies of our country, from the stain of slavery. After his return from England, he vainly endeavoured to bring the American Board of Missions, to adopt a line of anti-slavery action; and, failing in this, was among the most zealous in promoting the cause of free missions to the heathen. Though he early espoused and always advocated the politics of the Liberty party, his chief efforts during the last five or six years of his life, were devoted to the work of correcting the religious sentiment of the country, on the subject of slavery. He was for some time the editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, at New York, and was at his death one of the corresponding editors of the *National Era*, at Washington. Before he entered into this engagement, his great labours in the cause of emancipation, had impaired his physical powers, and uniting with constitutional tendencies towards pulmonary consumption, hastened him to his decline. While he stood by the prostrated form of Torrey, whose bosom friend he was, in the prison-house at Baltimore, he promised to write a sketch of the martyr's life. But waning health compelled him to relinquish that task to other and kindred hands. On the approach of the last winter, he fled to Jamaica, hoping there, while he refreshed his spirit by witnessing with his own eyes, the glorious triumphs of the common cause, to invigorate his wasting frame by breathing its genial atmosphere. But he was too late. He returned to the bosom of his native land to die a martyr to cheerful but exhausting labours for the emancipation of the helpless and broken-hearted slave.

We are indebted principally to the *Emancipator* for the foregoing interesting particulars: we add a few from the *National Era*, of which Mr. Phelps was one of the editors.

Mr. Phelps sailed for Haiti, in quest of health, October 20th, 1846. He passed a short time in that island, and thence proceeded to Jamaica. In a letter dated February the 10th, referring to the state of his health, he wrote, "I think I have done being anxious about the result, and am quite resigned to the Divine will, be it what it may." In April, this year, he embarked for New Orleans, where he arrived on the 18th of that month, and reached New York on the 5th of June, a mere skeleton, able to speak only in a whisper, his throat very sore, and with every symptom of rapid consumption.

During his absence he had been re-elected corresponding secretary to the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, but of course was obliged to decline it. This he did in the following terms:—

To the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

"New York, June 9, 1847.

"DEAR BRETHREN,—I learn that you have re-elected me to the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Society. I thank you sincerely for this expression of your confidence. It would rejoice my heart to be able to resume the duties of the office. But a good and wise Providence, as I doubt not it is, renders this impossible. The Committee will of course regard me as hereby declining the appointment. May the Lord direct you in the selection of another to fill my place.

"My work is probably nearly done. Whatever I can do for the Committee or the cause, so long as I live, will be done. Meanwhile, allow me to thank you heartily for your many past kindnesses, and to express the hope, that when, one after another, our work on earth is done, we may all meet, accepted, in the presence of the Lamb.

"As ever, I am your's truly,

"A. A. PHELPS."

The Committee passed a resolution, in which they testified their sense of his invaluable labours, and their deep regret that they should be deprived of his services in the office he had filled with such distinguished ability. In the acknowledgment of the same he said:—"I can only repeat my thanks, both to you and the Committee. I am conscious of having served the Committee and the cause to the best of my ability. I only wish that I deserved the commendation bestowed upon my labours. When I think of the manner in which the Saviour is repaying them into my bosom, I am frequently compelled to exclaim, 'Lord, I thank thee—that is all I can do.'"

Mr. Phelps took with him to the West Indies several unfinished manuscripts, in the hope of being able to complete them, but he was scarcely able to look at them during his absence. He was particularly desirous of writing out his views of the Bible respecting slavery, and to vindicate it from affording any countenance to chattel slavery, either under the old or new dispensation, feeling satisfied that he could demonstrate that the assertion that the Bible sanctions the iniquitous system is wholly unfounded.

On one occasion he was asked if he felt disappointed that he was prevented by the Providence of God from prosecuting his labours. He replied: "It will be ordered right in any event. I cannot say I prefer to live, or shall be disappointed not to live. I have been very desirous of completing several things that I have undertaken or planned in my mind, especially my Bible views on the subject of slavery. But perhaps God means that the Bible shall vindicate itself. The churches have fallen into dis-esteem, and it may be that God will permit the Bible to do so for a time."

Calling upon him one morning during his short stay in this city, he said, smiling, and with an animated countenance, "I held an argument for an hour, last evening, on the Bible question, with a Virginian." He was asked, "How could you do so in your feeble state of health?" "Why," said he, "he was conversing with a gentleman present, and said some foolish things respecting Jamaica. Having just been there, I could not refrain from correcting him, and thus I was led into the conversation." He had exhausted himself by that conversation, and was only able to converse in the morning with a pencil and paper.

In speaking of the unhappy division of the American Anti-slavery Society in 1840, in which he took a prominent part, he said, "I have never regretted it."

He said he had a desire to write a short article on the Evangelical Alliance, to bring out what American ministers had said and written when in England and at home. He spoke particularly of Rev. Robert Baird's objectionable remarks in the *New York Evangelist*, and said they ought to be held up for reprobation. He rejoiced that the Committee had protested against the doings of the Alliance with reference to American slavery, and that its separation of Christian morals from Christian doctrine had been made to stand out clearly.

After stopping eleven days in New York, he proceeded to Boston and Castine, Maine, where his family resided, with their relatives. There his health rapidly failed, as the weather was cold and stormy, and the place wholly unsuited to a person in his situation. Still, July 8th, the weather becoming milder, he revived, and prepared for re-publication his able letters, which were originally published in the *Boston Recorder*, on "*Organic Sins,*"

in reply to the positions of Professor Stowe, Rev. Edward Beecher, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He also intended to prepare for re-publication the other discussions concerning the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, that had so greatly engrossed his attention for a year or two. He thought they ought to be published, "not so much with a view of present sale, as for a permanent document for future reference and occasional use." He said, he would try to arrange them, and add something to them. His declining health forbade, and the work is left for another hand.

The weather becoming unfavourable, his bad symptoms became aggravated, and new ones were developed. He made preparations for leaving Castine, and on the 21st of July he left that place for Boston, where he arrived on the 23rd. His friend and brother-in-law, Rev. E. D. Moore, invited him to his house in Roxbury, where he was comfortably situated, frequently expressing his regret that he had not enjoyed the quietness and salubrity the place afforded previously. On the 25th, the writer spent two hours with him. He could converse but little, but whispered that his letters to Stowe were ready for the press, and added: "The letters to Bacon may be added. I see no objection to it." He was told that Orange Scott (who has been an able anti-slavery lecturer and editor) was lying in a similar condition, drawing near the end of his mortal career; that he was in a happy state of mind, &c., he smiled. He conversed about his family. He had received assurances from friends that his wife and children (now three in number) would be befriended after his decease, and he spoke of it with great sensibility. He seemed perfectly conscious of his approaching decease. Perceiving that he conversed with much pain, I took his hand, saying, I have been thinking of the precious words of the Saviour—"Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me." He was much affected, pressed my hand, and, with an expressive look, bade me adieu.

Throughout his protracted illness faith alone sustained him. He could lift up his heart and say—"I know that my Redeemer liveth." When informed that he could not survive till morning, he exclaimed, "I am glad to hear that—I am ready—I am ready!"

On Monday, the 3rd of June, the remains of this devoted friend of suffering and oppressed humanity, were deposited in Mount Auburn to await "The resurrection of the just."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, 1847.

Since the publication of the last *Reporter*, the French Chamber of Peers has voted the *projet de loi* relative to the composition of the Criminal Courts in the colonies for the trial of offences committed on the persons of slaves. Originally, these courts were composed of three judges and four assessors; but the laws passed by the French Chambers in 1845, for ameliorating the condition of the slave population, provided that the courts thenceforward should be composed of four magistrates or judges and three assessors. The decisions of these courts, however, have been of so scandalous a character, that the French Government, though reluctant to deal with the question of emancipation, has been compelled to propose to the legislature a new law, the object of which is to secure a purer administration of justice, and to protect the wretched slaves from the atrocious cruelties of their masters. The new courts are to be composed of seven magistrates or judges taken from the Titular Counsellors of the Royal Courts, the Auditor Counsellors, and, in case of need, from the Royal Judges. They will be empowered to try all crimes perpetrated by masters or slaves, a simple majority of their votes being sufficient for an acquittal; but five out of seven votes are deemed necessary to warrant a verdict of guilty.

To show how necessary it had become to get rid of the assessors, it is sufficient to say, that in the case of two masters, father and son, who had deliberately shot at, and grievously wounded some of their negroes in Cayenne, and who had been prosecuted for the murderous acts, both were acquitted by the assessors notwithstanding that the judges were unanimous in their condemnation. In Martinique, two brothers who had been accused of the most frightful crimes against their slaves were also acquitted by the assessors. The governor of this colony in communicating the fact to the Home Authorities, stated that the judges, without exception,

had acted conscientiously in the case, and had exhausted every means in their power to lead the assessors to just views, but in vain. They were deaf to reason and to fact, and acquittal was the consequence.

Now, whilst we admit that it had become indispensable that the assessors should be removed, we are not satisfied that the Criminal Courts, as newly constituted, will secure justice and protection to the slave. Evidence might easily be produced, to show that magistrates and judges, in the French colonies, have taken part with the oppressors; and have lent themselves without scruple, to the most iniquitous decisions. We, therefore, can express no great confidence in these functionaries, knowing as we do, that most of them are natives of the colonies, many of them proprietors of slaves, some of them planters, and, with a few exceptions, all of them imbued with colonial prejudices and pride. We think, however, that the new courts will be found an improvement upon the old, and that the French Chamber of Peers has done itself some honour in affirming the new law. We think, also, that the debate upon it, on the 5th of August last, at the palace of the Luxembourg, indicates improvement in the views and feelings of these honourable personages. M. le Baron Crouseilles, a partizan of gradual emancipation, opposed the law, but demanded with more than ordinary earnestness preparatory measures. He would subject slaves, who had emancipated themselves, or were emancipated by others, to five years labour, that they might show the unemancipated the advantages which resulted from paid labour. M. le Marquis de Gabriac, whilst he expressed the hope that his countryman would not manifest too much impatience for emancipation, or irritation because it was delayed, did not hesitate to declare his conviction that emancipation was both desirable and necessary. In the course of his speech he referred to the fact that "men, otherwise honourable, partook of the colonial spirit; and how could it be otherwise, when, from their infancy, they had been accustomed to see the negro whipped and debased, and placed on a level with their horses; when they had always regarded them as instruments of profit or of pleasure, rather than as men; and when they believed that the power which they exercised over them was necessary to the preservation of the colonies?" Still further to show the liability of the slaves to suffering and injury, he referred to the violent passions of the masters. "Can any one be ignorant," said the noble peer, "that in that land of hurricanes there are masters, who, maddened with fury, suddenly transform themselves into accusers, judges, and executioners? And can any one doubt that under its influence, many crimes are perpetrated by such persons which never see the light? The victims and the witnesses of these acts fear to denounce them." M. de Gabriac added, that whilst in the colonies, society still clung to slavery, in the mother country it became more and more hostile to the institution. There was, in consequence, a struggle, but to use his words, "The issue was not doubtful; emancipation must take place." M. le Baron Charles Dupin, the paid delegate of the colonists, as usual defended his clients. In replying to him the new Minister of Marine and Colonies, M. de Montobello, observed, "I know the colonists; I have much esteem for them; I know there are no men in Europe more honourable. I would confide my interests, my fortune, my honour, my life, to their keeping. But when they are found in the presence of their slaves, we ought not to be astonished that their appreciation of what is just and unjust is not always the same. They see in their slaves beings whom habit has taught them to consider, not as brethren, but as things. That which appears to us an excessive punishment, they regard as a necessary means to preserve discipline." M. de Montobello added, that in the new measure for re-modelling the Criminal Courts, the Government had not yielded to the pressure of public opinion, but to their own convictions. We think differently, and we have no doubt that our French fellow-labourers in the cause of abolition, think differently, and that the minister himself will think differently, when the next session of the Chambers shall take place. A potent voice, we have little doubt, will then be heard from all parts of France, demanding the immediate and complete abolition of slavery; and who knows but that the Government may cede to it? Petitions signed by 11,000 persons were presented to the Chambers during their late Session; the next, we trust, will witness petitions to the same effect, signed by hundreds of thousands. Let but the friends of abolition be active and zealous, and more than this can be effected.

It is not a little remarkable that the men who profess to be governed by the principles of an enlightened political economy, should not only fail to apply them in cases where it would obviously be wise to do so, but should utterly reject them, and act upon opposite principles, when it is clear they ought to be rigidly adhered to. In the present mode of supplying the emancipated colonies with foreign labourers we have a notable instance of this.

The Government would, no doubt, think it an act of folly to suggest to the British Legislature, the importation of foreign labourers into this country, either on the plea that there were not enough of native labourers to meet the demand, or that it was necessary, by such an operation, to reduce the value of labour to the lowest point, in order that our merchants and manufacturers might compete with foreigners in the markets of the world. Were the want of labourers in this country really felt, the Government would say to those requiring it, "We will give you every proper facility for importing them, but you must pay for the importation yourselves. Our business is simply to take care on the one hand that the immigrants be protected from injury and wrong, and that all reasonable and honourable contracts, on the other, be properly enforced." It were unreasonable and unjust to tax the public in general for such a purpose; and more so still to lay the principal burthen of that tax on the working classes, for the benefit of manufacturers and merchants. Yet this is precisely what is done at the present time in the emancipated colonies, in relation to the immigration of foreign labourers. Not only is the Government giving undue facilities for the introduction of immigrants, witness the expedition of the *Grouler* to the Kroo Coast; and making the emancipated slaves the chief contributors to the immigration fund, but is so adjusting the relations between the master and servant in the colonies, as to place the latter at the mercy of the former. In proof of this we need only refer to the stringent ordinances which have been recently enacted in British Guiana and Trinidad, to compel immigrants to labour for a term of years on the plantations, under the penalty of a heavy poll-tax, or imprisonment with hard labour in the common jail.

In 1839, the Government entertained other opinions than are now acted upon. In discussing the subject of immigration at the public expense, Lord Normanby, then Colonial Minister, observed, "There are, I am aware, considerations of weight which might be urged to show that a high price of manual labour may be really injurious to those by whom it is performed, when the price results, not from temporary, but from permanent causes, and induces habitual indolence, with its train of attendant evils. *But I am not so well convinced that it is just or wise to appropriate the public revenue in aid of this service. If the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds, to which every member of society is a contributor, should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination.*" The noble lord offered no objection to the Colonies legislating on the subject of immigration, within certain prescribed limits; but he would not consent that it should be done at the public expense.

Other counsels have, however, prevailed; and that which was considered neither just nor wise in 1839, is perfection itself in 1847. Lord Grey, following the footsteps of Lord Stanley, is so enchanted with immigration "at the public expense," that he is bent not only on perpetuating the monstrous evil, but of extending it in the British colonies. Some strange things have reached our ears of the future intentions of his lordship. We will not give them currency by publication. One thing, however, is certain, the West India party announce with exultation their triumph at the Colonial Office; and congratulate themselves on the overthrow of the missionaries and the Anti-slavery Society! In this they may find themselves mistaken. At all events, remembering their past discomfitures, they might learn to be a little more modest, and less noisy in their boastings.

Notwithstanding, however, the favour with which immigration "at the public expense" is regarded by the head of the Colonial Office and the West India body, we think the dullest student of the question must be convinced that it has been attended with many great evils. Among these we may enumerate—first, that it has increased colonial taxation to so great an amount as to render it almost insupportable. Take British Guiana as an instance. A few years since the expenditure of that colony did not amount to 400,000 dollars *per annum*,

whereas last year it amounted to 1,250,000 dollars; and the estimate for the present year is 1,083,000 dollars, besides the loan of £100,000, now in the market, which, if raised, is to be applied exclusively to immigration. The whole amount of the immigration loan will, when realized, reach £500,000, which will have to be repaid, both principal and interest, out of taxes hereafter to be imposed on the colonists. Is not this monstrous, especially when it is considered that the tax-bearers are chiefly the labourers, whose means of subsistence and comfort are heavily burthened to create the means by which their employers may the more readily coerce and oppress them? Trinidad is another example of the same evil; for, in addition to its present extravagant expenditure, it also is to be burthened with an immigration loan to the extent of £250,000. It is scarcely necessary to say that the resident population of these two colonies, with the exception of the officials, the agents of absentee proprietors, mortgagees, and merchants, and others directly benefited by the expenditure, have petitioned and protested against these immigration loans, and, generally, against the application of the public funds to any such purpose; but their efforts have been vain. Not having a voice in the colonial assemblies or councils, they have been treated with all but contempt. As yet in Mauritius the planters have not had recourse to a loan ordinance; but they have managed to drain the public treasury of its funds, and the colony, not the planters, is now indebted to the crown about £300,000, all of which has been expended on immigration; besides an enormous sum drawn from direct taxation. The residents are, to use the words of Sir William Gomm, the Governor, "sorely taxed," they can bear no more; and yet the cry is for more immigrants. Now who are the parties benefited by this expenditure? According to the same authority, a few London firms, and the agency houses they have established in the island. Would that we had in the House of Commons a man bold enough to grapple with this subject, and to compel attention to it on the part of our legislators.

Another evil resulting from the present scheme of immigration is, that it has led to the withdrawal of a large amount of skilled labour from the culture and manufacture of sugar. The emancipated slave is driven away, to make room for the raw African or the Indian labourer. This is strikingly the case in Mauritius. Of the 60,000 negro apprentices emancipated in February, 1839, not more, probably, than 5,000 are now engaged in agriculture. The floods of Coolies which have been poured into the colony at the public expense, have displaced the negro freemen. In British Guiana the same evil is in process of development. We are informed that on some estates, especially in Berbice, there is scarcely a creole labourer to be found. The Government should know, that in fostering the scheme of immigration, they are not only burthening the Colonies with debts which they are ill able to discharge, but they are in reality destroying the most valuable species of industry which exists in them. Coolie labour may be cheaper to the planter, than native labour, but it is much more expensive to the colony, which has to pay large sums to import it, and, at the end of every five years, to export what remains, and again to import new supplies to meet the ever-recurring exigencies of the planters. Nor must we omit the expenses incurred by the public hospitals, police, prisons, and penitentiaries, rendered necessary by the influx of such large masses of semi-barbarous and ignorant men.

A third evil is the great disparity of the sexes, which exists in connexion with this scheme of immigration. The last returns of Coolie immigration, show that out of 63,083 immigrants, only 7,766 were women and 3,785 children. Can such a state of things as this fact reveals, exist without creating the most revolting immorality? The colonies instead of being blessed with a permanent, are cursed with a fluctuating labouring population, introduced with scarcely any reference to their moral elevation or their social happiness. They come and go at "the public expense." Every five years, nay more frequently than that, they must be renewed by fresh importations, for the mortality among them is truly awful. One of our most painful duties is to be obliged so frequently to bring under the attention of our readers, the sickness, the sufferings, and the deaths of the colonial immigrants. We cannot but think a grave responsibility rests somewhere. In meeting the demands of the planters, the Government is travelling within a vicious circle, out of which, it is our firm opinion, they must either be driven by the force of a wholesome public opinion, or by the ruin of the Colonies.

Under these circumstances can it be wondered at, that the more thinking and humane part of the colonists should cry out, and in the name of justice and humanity require that immigration at the public expense should cease; or that we should join with them in demanding its entire abandonment?

We have learned with much satisfaction that the Danish Government have at length determined upon the abolition of slavery in its West India Islands. From the "*Fatherland*," (a Copenhagen Newspaper), of the 7th of August, it appears that all children born from and after the 28th of July last, are declared to be free, and that the entire slave population are to be completely emancipated in twelve years from that time. The Messenger conveying the determination of the Government to the authorities in the Danish Islands, went out by the last Mail. We forbear comment until we have the whole of the facts before us; yet we venture to say that now is the time for the planters in St. Croix and St. Thomas to act: Let them give their slaves immediate and complete emancipation, and they will prevent many evils which, otherwise, will be found associated with a long and torturing state of bondage to the slaves. If they anticipate the decree of the Government, they will be regarded as benefactors—if not perhaps they will be looked upon as foes.

We direct the special attention of our readers to the designs of the pro-slavery party in the United States, or the Island of Cuba. It has long been the determination of that body to secure that fertile island, not less as a mine of wealth to themselves, than as a counter-balance to the power of Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico. The number of Americans settling in the island as planters and merchants, is continually increasing; and depend upon it, they will have it if they are not sharply looked after.

BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The Stoke-Newington Ladies' Anti-slavery Association again solicit their friends who are interested in the abolition of American slavery, to aid them in contributing to the annual bazaar, to be held in Boston, N.E., in the 12th month next, in connexion with the Massachusetts Abolition Society. They feel much pleasure in stating that the contributions sent in former years both to the Boston and Philadelphia fairs, have met with a ready sale; and the friends in America have been cheered in their important labours, by the help and sympathy afforded on this side of the Atlantic.

A few articles it is not desirable to send, not being suited to American taste; these are screens, card racks, and infants' caps; card baskets are used, and bags are carried, quite small and of dark colours. The funds raised by the sale are intended to be employed for lectures and circulating intelligence through the press, being very much needed for these objects. Contributions should be sent, carriage free, by the 10th month, and will be thankfully received by the following friends:—

ANN DARTON, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London.
ANN RUST, Albion-road, Stoke Newington.
S. A. ALEXANDER, Church-street, Stoke Newington.

COTTON CULTURE IN INDIA.

We copy, from a comprehensive report of the Commissioners appointed by the Government of Bombay to inquire into the causes of the decline of the cultivation of cotton in India, so much of it as will give a general idea of the extent of their inquiries, and the conclusions to which they have been led, purposing to return to the subject at the first opportunity. Their object was

First. To inquire into the statistics of the cotton trade. It does not admit of being questioned that the export cotton trade of each presidency, as well as of the whole of India, had been declining gradually, when the representation which led to this inquiry was addressed to Government, nor that it had then arrived at a lower point in respect both of quantity and value than had been known for some years past. The official account of the imports to this country, show that the cotton received from India, was in

1844	88,639,776 lbs.
1845	58,437,426
1846	34,540,143

As respects the whole of India, the exports of 1845-46 were less in quantity than the export of any year since 1840-41 inclusive, and much less in value than the export of any year in the whole series, and about twenty-five per cent. less than the average value.

Secondly. To investigate and point out the causes of this decline. The proximate cause of the very marked decline has been the gradual diminution of a reasonable and mercantile profit, the expectation of which supplies an inducement to engage in the trade, the Indian cotton not

being able to compete with the production of the United States. In reference to the markets of China, the Indian cotton has been shut out, from the fact that America can introduce manufactured goods into the market, at a cheaper rate than the Chinese can produce them, they being their own manufacturers. The American exporter then, can under present circumstances supplant us with the raw material in the one quarter, and the representative of that same material in the other.

Thirdly. To suggest such remedial measures of a reasonable and practical nature as the circumstances might seem to call for. We find that the system pursued in the chief agricultural districts is as well adapted to the circumstances of the country and of the climate as can reasonably be expected—that the land is made to yield as large an annual increase as it is capable of doing apart from the use of improved chemical, mechanical, and scientific appliances. We can therefore put forward no specific recommendation for reducing the cost of raising cotton. The experiments undertaken by government have been beneficial, and have led to the introduction of the New Orleans cotton plant, which experience shows to surpass any other before tried. There have been great improvements in the process of cleaning the cotton; and the improved gin, there is reason to hope, will do as much to cheapen the production of Indian cotton as the original discovery did for American. The export duty is a great burthen, amounting as it does to an impost of from seven to ten per cent. This amount was fixed when cotton was much higher than at present. The removal of this duty would afford great relief. The price of cotton is greatly enhanced by the government land assessment. There needs some material revision, but it must be admitted that it is a difficult matter to be dealt with. Another item of great importance in the calculation of the cost of the cotton of Western India is the expense of conveying it from the various districts of its production to Bombay, as the port of shipment. Of course this varies in different districts. The southern Mahratta country, an extensive cotton district, labours under great difficulties from the want of good roads. The extension and improvement of the high roads to the coast would be of great advantage. But not only is the price of cotton affected by the expense of the carriage, but the time it takes to convey it across the country should be considered; also the deterioration it undergoes in respect of quality, from exposure to the weather, the dust of the road, and other drawbacks incidental to the system of conveyance adopted. As perfect independence of the difficulties in respect to conveyance is the great object to be attained, so the system of railway communication put forth by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, appears to furnish the desired medium. The railway in question will approach the very districts from which the cotton is supplied, and deliver it in Bombay, as proposed by Mr. Chapman, at the rate of 2½d. per ton per mile, or twelve rupees per candy, being at the least eighteen rupees per candy, or more than a ½d. per lb. less than what must now be paid; and this too, in the course of as few days as it now takes months to accomplish. But this is not the only advantage, the substitution of perfect certainty for the utmost uncertainty of speed, and regularity for constant disappointment and vexatious delay, of confidence in the execution of an order, &c., would soon attract to Bombay the produce of the extensive cotton districts in Central India, and enable the merchant in Bombay to supply the Liverpool market at a rate of cost that would allow him to compete fairly with the planter of the United States.

They conclude their report by saying,—We have shown, as it appears to us—

First.—That the export cotton trade had undergone a great decline, both in quantity and value, and was in a very depressed state when the Government was appealed to on the subject.

Secondly.—That the cause of that decline has been the inability of the exporter from this country to compete with the cheaper produce of the United States in the markets of Europe, and the representatives of that cheaper produce in the form of yarns and goods in the markets of China.

Thirdly.—That the only means, by which this supercession of the cotton of India in those markets can be obviated, are by *reducing its first cost* here, and that this end is to be attained,

1st. By the entire abolition of the onerous customs duties levied on the export of our manufactured cotton.

2nd. By a revision of the land assessment in the collectorates of Surat, Broach, and Candeish.

3rd. By permanently improving the communications between the Southern Mahratta country and the ports of the sea coast.

4th. By the introduction of a system of railway communication between Bombay and the interior, as proposed by the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, and thus opening up the fertile districts of Berar and the Deccan to the sea. We submit these recommendations for the consideration of the Honourable the Governor in Council and the higher authorities, upon whose decision the use they may be put to will depend, under a full and sure conviction upon our minds that the future welfare of the cotton trade of India will be determined by the course that may be pursued with respect to them; and that their adoption to the full extent recommended will render the markets at home independent of supplies

from other parts of the world, by enabling the exporter from India to compete, on terms of equality, with the importer into Liverpool from the Western hemisphere.

(Signed) RICHARD SPOONER.
H. B. E. FRERE.
ROBERT WIGRAM CRAWFORD.
S. D. MURRAY.
CURSETJEE JAMSETJEE

Bombay, 23rd March, 1847.

PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES.

Two years ago, we published a series of articles, showing how the slave power had allied itself to the lust of territory characteristic of the American people, and was making use of it to aggrandize itself and establish the supremacy of slavery in all the regions bearing tropical productions in the neighbourhood of the United States. We predicted then that the first blow would be struck for California—that Cuba and Hayti would be the next victims—that all the arts of diplomacy would be first tried, but that force, if necessary, would, at the proper time, be resorted to. So long as Mr. Calhoun, the true representative of the slave power, was in the ascendant, open violence was not deemed advisable. The policy of “masterly inactivity,” under the control of his genius, would accomplish all that was proposed, without any agitation dangerous to the stability of the slave system. The sudden collision with Mexico was not a part of his plan, though the ultimate object of that collision—the acquisition of California—was. That he had designs upon Hayti, we could not doubt. Who fomented dissensions in that unfortunate republic? Who sent a secret emissary thither, to acquire particular information in regard to the eastern portion of the island? Who filled the papers with reports of a flourishing white republic there, of its repugnance to negro rule, of its increasing power, of the probable extinction of the Haytian people under its ascendancy? Since his retirement, and the outbreak with Mexico, Hayti has become tranquil, the white republic has faded out of view, no more is said in any quarter of the probable annihilation of the black government. But Texas is ours—California will not be given up—it is rumoured that peace is approaching—and thereupon, a new appeal is made to the national passion for territory. The *New York Sun* opens upon the scent as follows:—

“CUBA UNDER THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.”

“When in Havana last winter, we had a consultation with a meeting of the most influential and wealthy men of that city, upon the union of Cuba to the United States, and promised to lay the matter before the people of this country as soon as the Mexican question had been disposed of. Mexico, to all intents and purposes, is now in our possession. All parties in the United States, and even foreign nations, look upon that question as settled, so far as conquest and occupation are concerned, and we now hasten to fulfil our promise, and that promise must be our apology for this article. Cuba, by geographical position, necessity and right, belongs to the United States; it may and must be ours.

“The moment has arrived to place it in our hands, and under our flag. Cuba is in the market for sale, and we are authorized by parties eminently able to fulfil what they propose to say, that if the United States will offer the Spanish Government one hundred million dollars, Cuba is ours; and that, with one week’s notice, the whole amount will be raised and paid over by the inhabitants of the island. One week is all they ask, if our Government will only make the offer for them to act upon, and which Spain is ready to accept. This is no vision, but a fact, of which we have seen and now hold the most undoubted proofs. The possession of Cuba will complete our chain of territory, and give us the North American continent. It is the garden of the world, the key to the gulf, and the richest spot of its size on the face of the earth. From Florida Point to its north-eastern coast is only fifty miles, bringing the island almost within cannon shot and sight of the United States. Cuba yields to Spain an annual revenue of 7,000,000 dollars, besides supporting 25,000 soldiers, expending at least a million a year upon fortifications, and paying another million in salaries to civil and military officers; in fact, her total revenue to Spain is over ten millions, which will double the moment it comes under the United States.

“Cuba produces the best sugar, coffee, tobacco, and tropical fruits, in the world. It has gold and silver, and the richest copper mines known. Its harbours, surface of the country, and climate, are unrivalled; and in less than five years its revenue would more than pay the entire purchase-money asked by Spain. Cuba must be ours! Stretching from Florida

to Yucatan, it commands the Gulf and coast of Mexico. It is larger than Ireland, nearly as large as all the New England States, containing 43,500 square miles of the most fertile soil under the sun. To us it is indispensable. We want its harbours for our ships to touch at to and from Mexico, for the accommodation of American and English transatlantic steamers, for its products and trade, and as the grand key to the Gulf of Mexico. Give us Cuba, and our possessions are complete. Spain is ready to sell, the Cubans are waiting for us to make the purchase, and to come at once into the Union. Let the thing be done; we pledge ourselves that the hundred millions will be forthcoming to meet the offer, and that Cuba will prove the richest conquest ever made by the United States.”

Some time since, a feeler not quite so palpable, was put forth in one of the Philadelphia papers. The *Pennsylvanian*, a paper that speaks, at times, almost as much by authority as the *Washington Union*, favours us with the following:—

“It has long been hinted in certain quarters, that there is a disposition on the part of the inhabitants of Cuba to have that island attached to the United States. We, ourselves, conversed during last spring with a rich planter at St. Jago, who declared to us that the reports of this feeling on the part of his countrymen were well founded; that, in the vicinity of his home, a majority of the planters favoured such a disposition of the island as should speedily bring it within the control and under the protection of our republican institutions.”

It is well known that there is a strong American interest in Cuba. Many citizens of this country are planting, and a large amount of American capital is invested in sugar estates, in that island. Its vicinity to the Gulf of Mexico gives it a commanding position in relation to the rich commerce of this country which seeks an outlet through the Mississippi and the Gulf; and in the hands of such a power as Great Britain might be used, should war unhappily break out between the two countries, as a favourable depot for her troops and supplies. It is well known that slaveholding statesmen have always watched all movements in relation to it with extreme jealousy, and the old *Globe*, of this city, long ago announced that the United States could not regard with indifference any proposal to transfer it from Spain to another power.

In view of all these facts, are we to regard with indifference the motion made by an Illinois Senator in regard to its acquisition, during the last Congress, and the still more recent demonstrations respecting it? We can easily see how such a paragraph as the following, from a letter addressed by Lord George Bentinck to the holders of Spanish bonds in London, will subserve the purposes of our “Manifest Destiny” men:—

“Will the people of England be content any longer to look quietly upon Cuba and Porto Rico, producing in value upwards of ten millions sterling of produce annually, on the one side, and on the unpaid debt of the forty-six millions due by Spain to British subjects, on the other side—Cuba and Porto Rico, once so rich and so easy a prize—and forbear longer to *distrain upon the goods of their wealthy, their faithless, their unprincipled Spanish debtors?*”

Such a paragraph acquires much significance from its connection with the speech of Lord Palmerston, menacing, in plain terms, the imbecile Government of Spain with the armed power of England. His Lordship, having been severely reproached for suffering English interests to be placed in jeopardy by the American occupation of California and Mexico, may not be unwilling to recover his character for high spirit, by forstalling the Yankees in Cuba. May we not, in these hints, find some explanation of his hostile tone towards the United States?

The Future is pregnant with great events. France and England once played the game for universal empire; neither obtained the prize, but the struggle was a bloody and costly one. What has it done for the world? What accomplished for the domestic progress of either nation? Is the same game to be played over again by the two great branches of the same family? Heaven forbid! Is there no wisdom in the lessons of the Past?—*National Era*.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTIER TO JOSEPH STURGE, ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Dated Amesbury, 7th month 29th, 1847.

We shall hold a Convention at Buffalo, New York, on the 20th of 10th month, and shall probably nominate John P. Hall, of New Hampshire, United States Senator, elect from that State, as our candidate for President.

Since I last wrote thee, an election has taken place in New Hampshire

for members of the Congressional House of Representatives, at which two new members have been chosen, both of them pledged against slavery, and one of them a thorough and decided liberty man.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM JOHN CLARK, OF BROWN'S TOWN, JAMAICA, TO JOSEPH STURGE, ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THAT LOCALITY.

Dated July 19th, 1847.

We are afflicted here (but not in all parts of the island) with another drought, which has destroyed more than half our Pimento crop. Water is exceedingly scarce in this neighbourhood—poor people are paying six-pence per pail for it, or travelling seven or eight miles to procure it; yet, day after day, have we had the early clouds which gave promise of an abundant shower, but they have speedily passed away.

Our missionary schooner, the *Dove*, has arrived from Africa, bringing brother and sister Clarke and some of our friends from this place, broken down in health. I expect Clarke here to-day.

The Government scheme of Education has done a great deal towards arousing our people to their duty, as regards the education of their children. Many of our schools have doubled in numbers.

The House will, I suppose, meet in a couple of months, and then some steps will be taken to carry out Earl Grey's suggestions.

BRITISH GUIANA.—TAX ORDINANCE, FOR 1847.

Georgetown, 3rd July, 1847.

I am very desirous of calling your very particular attention to the TAX ORDINANCE; which TAX ORDINANCE was first published on the 1st of July, just two nights ago—and *one day before* which that same Tax Ordinance came into operation!! so that there was no possibility of any one knowing of it, before they were also liable to its provisions and penalties. But though they might have known of it ever so much, no opportunity would have been afforded to offer an objection, or suggestion, concerning a single provision in it. The awful amount of the estimate, and the weight with which, in the first instance, it will bear on the merchant body, has called them out in a manner in which they have not shown themselves before. They sought an interview with the Financial Chairman, Peter Rose, fearing that the taxes might come on them; but they were refused; and after the estimate was concluded, and brought to the court for adoption as approved, Mr. Butt's, a financial, was silenced when attempting to move an amendment, seconded by the former Attorney General, Mr. Furlong, now a financial representative. The merchants you will see by the *Times* of last night, (2nd), have met and passed (what ought to have been a memorial to the Queen,) an address to those whom they suppose will have an influence with Lord Grey, not to allow the Tax Ordinance. But there are now none to bestir themselves on behalf of the oppressive bearing that same ordinance is to have on all the labouring population of the country. Those things, all of them that were before disallowed by the former minister, as unjustly and oppressively burdensome on the labourer, are taxed to a very injurious extent. Any corial, or boat, or batteau, dares not to be in possession of any without paying two dollars tax if under twenty feet. Four dollars tax if not above thirty feet. Six dollars tax if above thirty feet long. This will work very oppressively indeed on many poor people, and will be a general evil. The police will be ready, as they are authorized to pounce upon every batteau not numbered (for the tax) on the vessel. Every person that has a cart to porter with, has to pay a tax of fifty dollars, if in town, or twelve dollars, if in the country! No person is allowed to engage any one to carry anything for him except a hired porter, under a penalty of four dollars, and every one acting as a porter must be obliged to pay ten dollars for so acting. I do not know that we are at liberty to employ our own servant, unless he be licensed as a porter—at least, there is nothing that I see in the ordinance to prevent that extreme abuse being made of it, if any choose to spite you. And then, as to British goods, the tax is perfectly prohibitory, as if in vexation for free trade in sugar. So that instead of lowering the taxes on the necessities of life as required by the Colonial Minister, Earl Grey, in answer to the peoples' petition—the people are mocked, and the Minister's instruction virtually unheeded—I say virtually, because here and there is made an inconsiderable deduction—to *throw dust in his eyes*—while the increase in other respects is shamefully oppressive. Even the outcry of the merchants is because they may find it inconvenient, in some articles, to put the tax on the consumer, and, therefore, at first will bear heavily on themselves; but afterwards, the whole, and more than the whole, in one form or other, will rest on the consumer, and that consumer chiefly the labourer and the oppressed. Shall I beg of you to look at the ordinance as published in the gazette of two nights ago (the 1st inst.), and if you can do anything, do it. Please bear in mind, that not only is there none to speak for the labouring poor, now that Emery is dead, but the state prosecutions have broken down, as it was designed, the courage

and the power of the reform party, who had to bear their own expenses mostly unsustained, except in the state prosecution itself. Not only so, but if there were ever sent a stirring body to plead for them, the time of publishing the ordinance is such, that no opportunity is afforded to them to do it, until it shall have been a fortnight already at Downing-street, and received, if at all, the ministers' sanction! For, remember, the Governor will forward nothing that comes from the people, if it be not in his office forty-eight hours before the closing of the mail bags. The gazette, issued late on Thursday night, only the day previous to that on which the ordinance came into operation! would not be seen by many, nor heard of by most forty-eight hours before the mail left, much less would have an opportunity of making a remonstrance. How the merchants got hold of the ordinance on the first I don't know, except by means of their financial representative. It will come on many of the country people, probably, by the surprise of seizure of batteaus—summons to appear before a magistrate for not conforming to the provisions of which they are ignorant—seizure of their guns, &c.; and in case of inability to meet the exorbitance of the demands, they will learn its chafing severity by being imprisoned. It is impossible to tell the thousand and one annoyances to which it will put very many in the rural districts, especially to the hardships to which its operation will expose them, and there will be none to report their tale of misery and oppression. The people cannot write—or where they can it is difficult to make out the sense—and scarcely any can read writing, and very few adults read print intelligibly; so that for means of information we are miserably off, and there is no means of helping the people except we can prevent oppressive enactments, which give cover and colour to all that is done, and by keeping the legislation from laying heavy taxes. But, alas! upwards of a million of dollars estimate!—one hundred and fifty thousand of them, only one item, for immigration direct—and the hundreds of thousands for hospitals—the sick—the magistracy, &c. &c. &c., occasioned by this shameful immigration. And if you will observe, the merchants neutralize their own remonstrance by admitting the immigration mania as a necessary thing! O, my dear friend, one sickens at the thought of the complicated mischiefs, and evils, and oppressions, arising from the vile system which that unjust thing—Coolie and other immigration, at the peoples' cost, have occasioned, are occasioning, and will occasion. And, then, if the half million loan extension bills which have been sent for Lord Grey's sanction shall be allowed, I know not—nor can any foretell the awful extent to which the liabilities of the colony shall reach, nor the unendurable amount of annual taxation to which the colony of only 125,000 souls, men, women, and children, shall be subjected and reduced! And, for what? A five years service from deluded strangers—for whom the planters only, whose court of policy, elected by themselves have enacted these things! And you may have observed, that even the merchants' representative, Mr. Butts, has given his support to the law for another new loan, for the interest of which, the colony is to be held responsible—I mean a loan for thorough drainage. Planters oppose each other on this; many contending that it will be all money thrown away for no use, or at most a limited good, by reason of the want of proper outlets for the water in this extensive mud flat—and besides which, has it not been said that this is the most fertile land under the sun? But, whether or not, those eager for it are predicting for themselves FORTUNES rapidly to be acquired—yet not from those fortunes are those who lend the money to look for the interest, but to our court and the colony.

Sorry I am that the items of estimate have not yet made their appearance to send you a copy; and, perhaps, they will keep them from the public eye. One thing should be noticed further, namely, that the banks here have refused to be taxed *one per cent.* on the income of their joint company! though every other copartner is obliged to pay. The reason? Mr. Rose, the ruling honourable of the court, is manager of the Colonial Bank, and Mr. Croal, the seconder and supporter of Mr. Rose, is the chairman of the other—and these two guide the whole court as they please in matters of deepest moment; for there is not one that, if opposed to any measure, seems capable of supporting his objections with a sensible speech, out of them all. All I am able to do is to write you these things, and implore your very useful aid, which has been of singular use in former matters affecting the people's welfare.

You may not, perhaps, be surprised to hear that the governor has made Wm. Arundel, Chief Justice, in the room of Judge Bent, who has gone home. Mr. Craig, the Attorney General, in the room of Mr. Arundel, and Mr. Harvey, Solicitor General. Will these appointments stand, think you? The *Times*, always a shuffling paper, has expressed the true sense of the community in the leading article of Wednesday last, the 30th ult., but in last night's issue, (2nd inst.,) he has made quite a turn of it, as if wishing to look the other way.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.—*Dr. Patton's Negro Pew.*—Extract from a letter addressed to the editor of the *Guiana Congregational Record*, from New York, by the Rev. Ebenezer Davies.

"Did I not promise to write you a letter from the 'Negro Pew' in Dr. Patton's Church? I promised to do so to somebody in Guiana. Well, last Sunday morning, being at liberty, I set off in search of the said church, and found it. As to the geographical position of the said Negro Pew, I was guided by the language used in the published letter of apology, that 'they treated the coloured people well; that they were elevated above the rest of the congregation, and nearer heaven; that they occupied a position of honour, being on the right hand of the minister, as Jesus Christ was on the right hand of God.' Now, thought I to myself, we must make for the minister's right hand in the gallery. Two old coloured people were sitting in the front pew of the gallery, close to the minister's right hand; that must be the place, that section of pews there, at the end wall, must be the one allotted to the coloured people, and in common parlance called the 'Negro Pew.' We went and entered the pew immediately behind the old couple I have mentioned. At this the old lady was dreadfully alarmed, and beckoned us with the greatest earnestness to sit elsewhere. Remonstrance was vain, there we would be. By and by they brought the children of the Sunday-school to occupy the neighbouring pews, and one of the teachers, a lady, made signs for me to come away from the degrading position in which I was placed, having coloured people both before and behind; but I nodded that all was right, and I was very comfortable. A few moments elapsed, and another polite and compassionate lady actually got up, and came to the pew-door to remonstrate with us. In a very earnest and yet coaxing tone, she said, 'Won't you take a seat here on this side of the aisle?' 'No, thank you, madam, we are very comfortable,' was my reply. 'But,' she continued, in a tone of deep commiseration, 'this is the place allotted to the coloured people!' 'Thank you,' I said, 'we have made no mistake.' 'Well, just as you please, sir,' and with that she retreated. But the eyes of all in the synagogue were upon us. The little people whispered, and the big people stared, and all the people marvelled.

"With regard to writing a letter in the pew, I did not feel justified in employing any part of the time of service in such an engagement, and I thought the object would be accomplished by my taking notes there, and giving you the substance of those notes. I felt gratified in occupying for once in my life that celebrated 'place of honour,' and in bearing my silent testimony against the impiety of such a distinction and separation in the house of God. But the 'Negro Pew' is universal, here. Few are without it. But I can tell you more about the treatment of the coloured people in this 'Church.' At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the coloured people are not even allowed to come down to the body of the chapel, but have to remain 'nearer heaven,' till their white brethren have first partaken; and then the elders (it is a Presbyterian Church) take up the elements to them. This is the practice, unless it has been altered lately. My informant, a literary lady of some celebrity, was a member of the church until recently, and she witnessed an instance in which the coloured people were quite forgotten. Is it not monstrous?

"The lengths to which these Americans carry their prejudice against colour is perfectly ridiculous and contemptible. Last week, at the Baltimore Railway Station, whilst I was looking after my baggage before setting off, about half-a-dozen well dressed and respectable looking coloured ladies came up, and made for the *luggage van*, as a matter of course! It is thus, however respectable, clean, and intelligent, they are obliged to travel, whilst paying the same money as the whites. I have conversed with a respectable minister of the gospel, who had often been put in the luggage van, and on steamers had to take his food in the pantry. And by whom are they thus treated? By a nation whose habits are proverbially low and filthy. On this head I used to think that Dickens and others exaggerated and caricatured in their descriptions, but the half was not told."

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.—Rev. Hiram H. Garnet, an educated and highly respectable coloured clergyman, in passing down Lake Champlain in the steamer *Saranac* the other day, was not allowed to eat his dinner even at the second table. In deference to the aristocracy of the *skin*, he modestly waited till the first table had been cleared away, supposing that his ticket would entitle him to a place at the second without molestation. After he took his seat, however, he was ordered away, and, not choosing to feed alone, like a beast, he fasted, and perhaps *prayed* also, until his arrival at Burlington, for the removal of the prejudice which subjected him to so much annoyance. Mr. Garnet says, that at least two who sat at the first table, were so drunk that they were scarcely able to navigate. But it mattered not if they were only *white*.—*Tribune*.

We have a personal acquaintance with Mr. Garnet, and know him to possess every quality of a gentleman, with the exception of a white skin. We have also recently passed over the same route, and were most dreadfully annoyed by filthy, low, and vulgar company, in comparison with which Mr. Garnet's society would be a paradise.—*True Wes.*

SALE OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN AS SLAVES, BY THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, AT PUBLIC AUCTION FOR MONEY TO CARRY ON THE WAR AGAINST MEXICO!

(Correspondence of the *Boston Whig*.)

Washington, D. C. July 13, 1847.

MR. EDITOR,—I received a short note this morning, without signature, informing me that two females (who have been for some time confined in the United States *Slave Warehouse* in this city, and in whose wretched condition I had previously taken some interest), would be sold at ten o'clock, for the benefit of the United States. I immediately procured the *Union*, and found in it the following advertisement:—

MARSHALL'S SALE.—In virtue of five several writs of *fiery facias*, issued from the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, for the County of Washington, and to me directed, I shall expose to public sale for cash, on Tuesday, the 13th instant, at the south front door of the jail of said County, at the hour of ten o'clock, A.M., the following property:—viz.,

One negro woman named Elizabeth, about the age of sixty years; and one negro girl, named Caroline, about the age of twenty years; seized and levied upon as the property of Henry Miller, and sold to satisfy judicials No. 22, for October term, 1847, in favour of the Postmaster-General; also judicial Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, to June term, 1847, in favour of the United States, and against the said Henry Miller.

ALEXANDER HUNTER,
Marshal of the District of Columbia.

I instantly repaired to the *Government Man Auction*, but found myself a few minutes too late to witness the sale. I was, however, informed that there was a good deal of competition among "*the trade*" and quite a number were present. A noted dealer, known to the coloured people here as "*Rev. Mr. Williams*," was one of the most spirited bidders.

I was glad to learn, however, that *benevolence* outbid *selfishness*. Some kind-hearted gentlemen became the purchasers of these two females—*professors of religion*—and the United States receives into its treasury 530 dollars.

What has the North to do with slavery? Is the seizure and sale of these women provided for in the Constitution?

The voters of the Free States have long held the key to the slaves' prison-house in Washington, but *they have never told their Representatives to turn back the bolt!*

It is the voters of the North who have made this fair City the *man-market of the Nation*.

It is the North that furnishes Satan with his sentinels, to guard and defend these deeds.

HORRIBLE INHUMANITY.—We published lately, from the *Charleston Courier*, the report of proceedings in the case of a white woman tried for the murder of her slave. It was proved, it will be recollected, that the slave girl died under correction administered by the command of her mistress; but the latter was acquitted on her own oath, that being sufficient, according to the law, to clear her, unless opposed by the testimony of two white witnesses.

While looking over the columns of the *Charleston Mercury* a few days since, our attention was arrested by a card, entitled, "*To the Public*," being a statement put forth by H. L. Toomer, in justification of his conduct, in having a slave woman corrected, from the effects of which she died.

On the 16th inst. he received the following note from Mr. Carew:—

July 16, 1847.

"SIR,—My black servant Mary died to-day at two o'clock. She was taken sick on the 5th July. Her poor feeble frame, notwithstanding our utmost care and the best medical aid, has sunk under your terrible discipline. I need not dwell on the recital of the gloom that this event has shed over my family, the mourner of her death shroud. But here I had better stop, after adding, that when more composed, I will determine on a mode of investigation."

E. CAREW."

"Mr. H. L. Toomer."

On the night of the 4th of July, the weather being very inclement, sudden indisposition in a member of the family aroused Mr. Toomer between twelve and one o'clock. Finding that the servant who usually slept in the house was not in, "he proceeded to the yard, where he saw an upper room of his kitchen lighted up; on entering and making his presence known, the lights were instantly extinguished, and the door bolted. By the assistance of some of his other servants, being prevented from escaping, he arrested thirteen negroes, including six of his own. They were engaged in supping with his own furniture and property in use. The undersigned caused his slave Carolina to inflict upon each, except Mary, the slave of Mr. Carew, fifty lashes with a cow-skin. On Mary, Carolina, by the direction of the undersigned, inflicted *ten* lashes; this was in consideration of her having a young infant with her at the time; she was then dismissed from the premises, and permitted to return to her master's, whose yard adjoins that of the undersigned."

This is Mr. Toomer's own statement.

Having received Mr. Carew's note, he states that he repaired immediately to the coroner's, and demanded an inquest. This was held on the 17th, at four p.m., when the following testimony, Mr. Toomer states, was taken:—

"*The State of South Carolina, v. the dead body of Mary, a female slave, the property of Edward Carew.*

"Dr. Elias Horlbeck sworn: Says, on the 10th or 11th inst. he was visiting a patient in the yard of Mr. E. Carew, and stopped at the chamber of the deceased. She was labouring under a little fever, but, not having been requested by her owner, did not examine her wounds, but recommended cooling remedies to be continued. Saw several scars upon her back; two scars around her arm. The wounds had the appearance of being inflicted with a cow-hide. In the course of that day she began to wander in mind; the inflammation increased, and finally put an end to her life about mid-day of the 16th inst., terminating by mortification of the lower part of the breast. Below that, the inflammation was caused by predisposition, which predisposition may have been caused by fever, consequent to the effects of the whipping. It was no immediate effect of the whipping. There were no bruises about the breast. Deceased was of a remarkably feeble constitution, and had a child three months old, which is one of the causes of predisposition to inflammation of the breast. Does not think the whipping the immediate cause of her death. The fever was caused from the effects of the whipping, which produced the inflammation of the breast.

"ELIAS HORLBECK.

"Sworn to before me, this 17th July, 1847, J. P. Deveau, Coroner Charleston District."

"E. Carew sworn: Says, Mary is his slave; she was well on the 4th of July, apparently so as he had ever known her; she was flogged by Mr. H. L. Toomer on that night to his satisfaction, as he informed deponent; she took to her bed sick the next morning, and died on the 16th instant.

"EDWARD CAREW.

"Sworn to before me, this 17th July, 1847, J. P. Deveau, Coroner Charleston District."

"H. L. Toomer sworn: Says, on the night of the 4th July he was called up, and called for his servants. They were not in the house. On going to his kitchen he found thirteen negroes there, including his own. Three of them were owned by Mr. Carew, amongst whom was Mary. He punished all of the negroes, except Mary, with fifty lashes, inflicted with a cow-hide, through his servant Carolina. Mary was underneath the bed; he had her pulled out; and she came with a little baby sucking at her breast. Deponent took the baby from her, and made Carolina inflict ten stripes on her with the same cow-hide that the rest of the negroes had been punished with.

"H. LAURENS TOOMER.

"Sworn to before me, this 17th July, 1847, J. P. Deveau, Coroner Charleston District."

"The jury requested Dr. Horlbeck to make a post mortem examination, assisted by Dr. Bellinger."

Their report was a recapitulation of Dr. Horlbeck's evidence. The jury returned a verdict in accordance with the facts. No further proceedings have been taken against Mr. Toomer.

In the face of the facts above stated, Mr. Toomer has attempted to put forth a justification of his conduct. Alas! there is no flesh in man's obdurate heart.—*National Era.*

EMANCIPATION.—The laws against emancipation in the slave States were enacted to prevent the extinction of the system by the voluntary action of the slave owners. They cannot, however, crush the spirit of emancipation. Frequent notices appear in the newspapers, of the liberation of slaves by slave-holders, acting from conscientious convictions. Were the ministers of the Gospel in the South faithful upon this subject, or would they only abstain from defences or apologies of the practice of holding slaves, such cases would greatly multiply. The teachings of many of them, and the policy of the churches, pervert the minds of the conscientious, embolden the mercenary and proud, and are justly praised by pro-slavery politicians as the surest defences of the system.

We quote the following paragraph from a letter in the *Baltimore Clipper*, dated Fredericksburg, June 9:—

"A few days since, there were seen passing through this city some forty-eight Negroes—men, women, and children—marching two and two, with joined hands, regularly sized, from six to three feet in height, accompanied by a four-horse waggon, in which there were a number of small children, sundry articles of household furniture, &c. The whole was under the charge of a white person; and, upon inquiry, I learned that most of these negroes had been liberated by the will of Colonel James Epes, who died some time back, in Dinwiddie county, of this State; and that they were on their way to Ohio, where provision had been made for their settling. I also learned that, with a view to prevent the separation of families, several gentlemen, owning,

for instance, a father or mother, constituting part of this number, had generously liberated such, that they might accompany their families."

The acts of the gentlemen referred to were noble, evincing a great deal of humanity; but the liberation of all their slaves would have showed an exalted sense of justice, as well as great humanity.

Our attention was lately arrested by the number of applications made in New Orleans for the emancipation of slaves. The following is taken from the *New Orleans Bulletin or Picayune*:—

"COUNCIL OF MUNICIPALITY, No. 1.

"Extra Sitting, May 28, 1847.

"EMANCIPATION—FIRST READING.

"The following petitions were read, and referred to the Judiciary Committee:—(Here followed the names of nineteen applicants).

Generally, these petitions are favourably reported upon, and the slaves are liberated.

The free coloured population of Louisiana has steadily increased since 1810, as the following table will show:—

1810	7,595
1820	10,476
1830	16,461
1840	25,502

Of these, in 1840, no less than 19,226 resided in the city of New Orleans. A friend, in a letter just received, calls our attention to a fact of much interest. He says that "in 1844 or 1845, a legislative committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the decrease of Negroes in that city." The decrease is large. According to the recent census, there are now only 12,980 free coloured people in New Orleans—between six and seven thousand less than in 1840. And yet, as may be seen from the extract quoted above, the emancipation of slaves is still going on as usual. Is there not some friend who can furnish us with the report of the legislative committee referred to, and also with a copy of the late census of New Orleans? It would be highly interesting to have the phenomenon disclosed in the foregoing statistics explained.—*National Era.*

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?—It has ever been a mooted question, "What was the cause and what the objects of the present war?" On one side it is contended that the annexation of Texas was the cause, and the spread of American slavery the object of the war. On the other hand it is alleged that the invasion of our territory was the cause, and the vindication of our national honour the object of the war. However this question may be settled, one of the consequences of the war is now placed beyond question. The following extract from a New Orleans paper will explain what we mean:—

"The steamers *Palmetto* and *Edith* arrived at Vera Cruz on the 8th inst. The schooner *Gen. Worth* had also arrived there with one company of voltigeurs. On the *Palmetto*, a lady is said to have arrived from New Orleans, in search of a runaway slave. Her pursuit is represented as being successful."

Thus has Mexico already become legitimate ground for the slave-hunters; and we venture to predict that no peace will be made with Mexico, except on such terms as to stipulate for the return of fugitive slaves.

NEW GRANADA.—The *Gaceta*, of May 2, publishes a law forbidding the importation of slaves, and making free every slave thereafter introduced into the territories of New Granada. Their exportation is also forbidden under penalty of 1,000 dollars for each slave. Slaves residing in the country with foreign owners must be removed within one year, otherwise they become free. In the same number of the *Gaceta*, is a law relative to immigration, which authorises the Executive to pay the passage and first expenses into the country of American, Asiatic, or European farmers, miners, or mechanics, and to give them land to live upon. As soon as they arrive, they are to become citizens, but for the period of twenty years, will be exempt from military service except in case of foreign war, from all ecclesiastical contributions, except for the support of their own worship, and from all taxes. They are also to have full religious liberty. The same law authorises the Executive to contract for Coolies from the East Indies, and to let them out to those who wish to hire them.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—*The Coolies on Garredu Estate.*—A writer, signing himself "Veritas," has thought proper to tax us, in the *Cornwall Courier*, with having published a false statement respecting the Coolies who have been located on Garredu Estate, in this parish. He wishes to make it appear that our intention was to deceive the public, by representing the strangers as being ill treated and overworked. All that we said was, "that fourteen of these immigrants, with their Sirdar at their head, attended at the police-office for the purpose of preferring a complaint against the managers of the above-named estate for ill-treatment,

and for imposing on them a double quantity of work, contrary, they say, to agreement." It will thus be seen, that we simply intended to show *why* they assembled at the court-house, and that the falsehood or truth of their complaint was to become the subject of investigation. We expressed no opinion whatever, as to the treatment which these people receive at the hands of the overseer of the property, because we felt convinced that it would be improper to do so, until evidence had been taken by the magistrates. We take the trouble of entering into this explanation, in order to satisfy the public, for the abuse of such individuals, as the writer of "Veritas," cannot possibly have on our minds the intended effect. In conclusion, we contend that our reporter's account of the whole affair was harmless, and strictly correct. The immigrants *did* appear in a state which was truly disgusting, and in this assertion we are fully borne out by the stipendiary magistrate who was at the police-office on the day that they went there. The poor wretches were scarcely able to walk, by reason of what "Veritas" calls "an eruptive cuticular disease." The plain English of this is, that their toes were almost eaten off by Chigoes, and it was with great difficulty that any one of them could walk.—*Falmouth Post*, July 6.

MADEIRA IMMIGRANTS.—Since the date of our last publication, no less than 242 Madeirans have arrived in Falmouth, in the ship *Levant*, commanded by Capt. Lane, and they were landed here on Wednesday last, and conveyed immediately after to the properties on which they are to be employed. They are really a good looking set of persons—healthy and clean in appearance, and appear to all intents and purposes, far superior to the Coolies, who were brought from Madras in the *Athenian*; and who, we are sorry to add, are fast approaching to that miserable condition which will render them unable to perform the duties expected from them, by the mad-headed politicians, who boasted that Jamaica's future prosperity depended on the outlay of hundreds of thousands of pounds, which the members of our House of Assembly were urged to grant for carrying out the scheme that had been so warmly advocated by a portion of the *Island Press*. As we have already said, the Portuguese immigrants are a good-looking set of people, and we trust that they will be found to answer the great object in view.—*Ibid.* July 13.

ARRIVAL OF COOLIES.—We understand that the long expected ship, *David Clarke* arrived at Lucea on the 11th instant, having nearly 300 Coolies on board. We have not ascertained the length of the passage from Calcutta, but we are enabled to announce that no less than twenty-five of the immigrants died from the time of their embarkation. The principal portion of those landed are to be located on estates under the management of Isaac Jackson and H. Brockett, Esqrs., and we believe that the necessary arrangements have been entered into with Robert Emery, Esq. (the sub-agent for immigration), who left his residence in Trelawny, for Lucea, as soon as he received intelligence that the *David Clarke* was in sight.—*Ibid.* July 16.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Tax Ordinance.—As many, if not most of our readers may not have an opportunity of knowing anything whatever of the recent tax ordinance, except what may appear in our columns, we need offer no apology for occupying so large a portion of our limited space, with a general summary of its provisions. There are a numerous class of persons, who will know of its existence and severity by the visit of the policeman or the summons of the magistrate, or the execution warrant of the marshal in due time, as the case may be. There is not a cockle-shell batteau capable of floating in a trench, but must have a painted number, and pay an annual tax of two dollars—a tax which, when once before imposed by our legislature, was taken off by the injunction of the Secretary of State—there is not an article of British manufacture, not one of food or clothing, nor any necessary of life or of comfort, but an extra half bitt, which is four cents, or twopence sterling, must be paid as a tax on every dollar's worth!—articles, many of which, till this ordinance, were free from the demands of the tax-gatherer. And all to meet the shameful enormity of Coolie immigration; for the support of which—besides an annual sum of 50,000 dollars, to pay interest, &c. of the loan, and an additional 100,000 dollars this year, for meeting the expenses of importations—we have to build hospitals, keep up establishments, employ magistrates, increase police stations and men, and meet an enormous annual outlay to an appalling and ruinous extent. Exceeding a million of dollars this year, it is utterly impossible to foretel, if the present system is permitted to continue, what will be the yearly increase of taxation through succeeding years! The merchants have indeed feebly remonstrated against the ordinance, merely because they feel the pinch at first; but on behalf of the consumer and the labourer, they have not cared to utter a single sentence, but have rather nullified their own objection, by admitting the necessity of the existence of the immigration mania, under the effects of which they have begun to wince. They feel and confess the necessity of a reform in the constitution of the country; but, after enunciating it, they seem terrified at the sound of their own voice in the matter, as if afraid they shall be obliged to beg pardon, for having spoken in a passion—sentiments so unpalatable to that levathan of the colonial bank, the honourable Peter Rose! On the 1st of July, instant, they met to petition the Queen! when lo!—they were content to memorialize, with others, certain gentlemen in Liverpool, to

ask Lord Grey, as we should say, for a defeat. The reformers are still. The ranks of every party are divided. The colony appears to us, in every aspect of it, to be enfeebled and dispirited.—*Cong. Record*, July 9.

ANTIGUA.—Madeira Immigrants.—An addition has been made to our labourers by the arrival on Monday last of 130 immigrants, in the Portuguese schooner *San Antoni de Liston*, from Madeira. The Portuguese having themselves engaged in the conveyance of immigrants in their own vessels, we may expect to have shortly in the island the number limited by the Immigration Act—which we believe to be 3,000. So large an accession of labourers ought to make a salutary impression on the labour market, that will tend to increase considerably the products of the colony, as well for exportation as for home consumption.—*An. Record*, June 19.

MORE LABOURERS.—By the arrival of the ship *Isabel*, an addition of 240 Portuguese immigrants from Madeira has been made to our supply of labourers. This occurrence induces us to recommend to the favourable consideration of the community a subscription about to be set on foot by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, of the Presbyterian Church, for the purpose of obtaining teachers versed in the Portuguese language, to impart religious instruction to the Portuguese labourers recently brought hither, in their own tongue. Considering the large number of Portuguese immigrants already domiciled in various parts of the country, and the contemplated large influx of that description of persons to our community, the undertaking of the reverend gentleman is very praiseworthy, and deserves the co-operation, not only of the ministers of religion, but of the public at large.—*Ibid.* July 3.

A FOUL PRACTICE.—We received a letter by the last Leeward steamer from a gentleman residing in Curacao, in which our attention was directed to an infamous practice which is becoming quite common in that island, that of selling their slaves for servitude in Porto Rico! This traffic is said to be induced by a report, which is credited in Curacao, of the early emancipation of the slaves by the Dutch Government. Since receiving this intimation, our eye has by chance fallen upon the following corroborative paragraphs from cotemporary prints:—

"A gentleman lately from Curacao assures us that slaves are daily and openly sold there to be sent to Porto Rico. While he was there several vessels left with their live freight; in one case a man actually sold his own child! After this let us hear no more of the cruelty of the African trade, for this is much worse."—*St. Vincent Royal Gazette*, April 29.

Similar information has been communicated to us by the captain of a vessel trading to this port. He informed us that since the admission of foreign sugar into the British markets at a reduced rate of duty, the Spaniards of Porto Rico are eager for slaves, and were purchasing up all they could procure at Santa Cruz, to extend their cultivation and increase their crops. Our informant assures us that it was heart-rending to hear the cries of the poor slaves being torn from their native land and associates to be conveyed to the cane-fields of Porto Rico, where they will suffer every species of cruelty, and be worked to death under the lash. And this has been brought about by England in the encouragement given to foreign sugar in the British markets—an encouragement that will do more injury to the unfortunate slave, and to the cause of emancipation, than could have been conceived when the impolitic and unjust measure of reducing the duties on foreign sugar was proposed and sanctioned. We trust, however, that the people of England will resolve never more to use a grain of such sugar, and thus themselves prevent its introduction into the British markets.—*Grenada Chronicle*.

CUBA.—COOLIE IMMIGRATION.—The barque *Giaour*, lately arrived from Cork, is reported to have spoken on the 30th ult. off Altavilla, the ship *Duke of Argyle*, from the East Indies, bound to Havana, with Coolies, for that place; and a wonder has been expressed how a British vessel can be employed in such a cause. Our surprise might also have been excited, did we not happen to know that party questions are now carried out for the purpose of promoting the basest and most unprincipled speculations. Indeed we should not be astonished if the parties engaged in this new slave-trade are members of the free-trade league, now speculating on the profit of the Cuban cultivation of produce, to the ruin of the British West Indian Colonies. The owners of the ship, for aught we know, may be members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association!

We think this matter requires more than a passing notice. No one having the least knowledge of the manner in which things are managed in Cuba, can have a doubt that however specious may be the pretences under which these poor wretches have been decoyed from their native hills to Cuba, that once there, nothing will save them from sharing the miserable fate of the Cuban slaves.

We hope the fullest inquiry will be made into this matter by the British Government, and that the progress of introducing Asiatic slavery into Cuba will be immediately arrested. There are many considerations involved in this subject: the first is an extension of slavery and the slave-trade by foreign nations to a people who have hitherto escaped that degradation, and a people, too, some of whom are British subjects, others being under the British Government, and others at least enjoying all the benefits of British influence:—secondly, the great increase to the difficulties the British West India Colonies have, in competing with foreign

slave countries under the free-trade principle; and lastly, the injury it may do to the West Indies, even in the shape of preventing further Coolie immigration, if required.

If any thing can more glaringly pourtray the evils to be apprehended from that wretched system of free-trade, which has been extended to these colonies; and the worse than wretched policy pursued towards them, it is *this* attempt. The planters of Cuba, finding that they have now the most decided advantage over us, are moving heaven and earth to turn it to as good account as possibly they can. Not satisfied in a continuance of the illicit importation of slaves from Africa—not satisfied in competing against us, with the advantages of compulsory and unrequired labour, wrung from the slave by the whip, and other means of coercion—they must forsooth resort even to India for additional labour! Were Cuba even now not assisted by an illicit importation of negro slaves—were freedom abolished in that island;—yet in the very importation of Coolies only, would she derive more profitable employment than Jamaica. Here, we are fettered with regulations, that impede the profitable employment of the Coolies—regulations that tend to engender idleness among them, and finally lead to their own destitution and misery: in fact, were they not tractable, and easily-managed people the obligation on them of pursuing continuous labour is so very slight, that we should see them wandering in droves about the country, and dying in the ditches and by the mountain sides. This will not be so in Cuba; they may be carried there under the name immigrants, but as we have already stated, it will be only a pretext for reducing them to the worst and most oppressive slavery.

Besides all these considerations, we are much afraid that the influence of British subjects in the East is exercised in favour of Cuba, and that the free labour of the British colonies is held out to the Coolie, as a decoy to entrap them into Cuban slavery. Let her Majesty's Government look to this.—*Jamaica Times*, July 8.

The *Faro Industrial* of Havana says, there have been large arrivals at Puerto Principe of emigrants from the Canary Islands. One ship brought 200, among them some wealthy families.

Miscellanea.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.—From late advices we learn that the slave-trade on the coast is as brisk as ever: that 1,315 slaves had been landed from slave vessels at Sierra Leone, from May the 4th to June 28th of this year, and that the last slaver taken was a Brazilian brig, although, for deception, called the *Buelah*, of Portland, U.S.; she was sent in by the *Waterwitch*, Captain Birch, in charge of Mr. M'Lure; this vessel had 510 slaves on board, and was fallen in with on June 10th, lat. 2.27 S., long. 4.30 E. The *Griffon* brigantine Lieutenant Commander Thurburn, had sailed on a cruise to the southward against the slave-trade, having received certain information that several fully freighted slavers were expected to arrive on the Coast. Other accounts represent the traffic as increasing, and state it as a fact that "a good many have got off lately with full cargoes." The *Growler* had arrived on the coast but had not shipped any immigrants.

ASCENSION, July 4.—*Right of Search.*—The *Wanderer* 16, Commander Montresor, having arrived a few hours before the despatch of my last letter, I had not been made aware of a misunderstanding which has arisen between the captain of that vessel and the French admiral, the nature of which is very similar to that which brought Lieut.-Commander Edward E. Gray, of the *Bonetta*, to a court-martial, and got him dismissed his ship, how justly or unjustly I will not say. It appears that on the passage from Sierra Leone to the Cape de Verde Islands, the *Wanderer*, on March 4, fell in with a French brig, which duly hoisted her colours. Commander Montresor, however, having suspicions of the vessel, chased her, occasionally firing a gun in the direction of her, to bring her to: the brig, however, nothing daunted, stood on, and it was only after a chase of fourteen hours that the *Wanderer* was enabled to fire so close as to bring her to a sense of her duty to a British cruiser. On boarding her, it would appear that she was found to be a *bond fide* French merchant vessel; but on the boarding officer returning to the *Wanderer*, Commander Montresor expressed his doubts on that point, and ordered the officer again to board, to examine the hold of the French brig. On being requested to open his hatches, the Frenchman declined, stating that his vessel was laden with gunpowder. The boarding officer then, by Captain Montresor's express authority, proceeded to open the hatches with his party of seamen, and thus, it is alleged, violated the very principle which the French and British Governments had in view in framing the late convention for the suppression of the traffic in slaves. Gunpowder was found to be the real cargo. A very imperfect knowledge

of the said convention, it is also alleged, would have sufficed to show that the duty devolving on the boarding officers consisted in identifying her nationality, and having satisfied themselves that she was French, the object of her voyage or her cargo, would be no longer of the slightest importance to them. The admiral commanding the forces of the king of the French, has officially appealed to our commodore, Sir Charles Hotham, against the "illegal deed," and the question has now been referred to her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. How the matter will end, you in England will probably learn before we shall. The *Wanderer*, in the meantime, has gone to Cabenda, with provisions for the squadron on the south coast. She sailed hence on the 24th ult. Should her ship's company recruit their health there, she will remain on that coast. Of the twenty-two men she sent to the hospital here, five rejoined, seventeen remain, one at present dangerously ill. The best course to follow would be for the Admiralty to order her home, for she has a most sickly crew, almost every man of them having suffered, and being now debilitated from fever or some other diseases peculiar to the climate. The *Kingfisher* came in from Sierra Leone on the 2nd inst.; the crew rather sickly (a slight fever with catarrhal symptoms), one man having died on the passage.

CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA.—The prominent manner in which this subject has been brought before the manufacturing interest lately by the Manchester Commercial Association, would seem to have been productive of much benefit. We understand that the forwarding of many orders for cotton have been the result. Under such circumstances, the immediate attention of the East India Company has been called by the Association, through their secretary, Mr. Hugh Fleming, to the expediency of facilitating the means of transit by improving the roads, and furnishing hand-saw gins for the cleansing of the cotton. The following reply has been received:—

East India House, Aug. 13, 1847.

Sir,—I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., in which, on behalf of the Manchester Commercial Association, you solicit the court's attention to the expediency of facilitating the means of transit from the cotton districts on the western side of India, to the ports of shipment, and also of providing an increased supply of hand-saw gins for the purpose of cleaning cotton. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the important subject of improving the lines of communication between the interior and the coast, has not failed to receive the serious consideration of the court. The road to which you particularly refer,—viz, from Dharwar, *via* Hooblee to Sircy, and thence to the port of Coompta, has been carefully surveyed, and the court have now under their consideration a plan for converting the existing bullock road from Coompta, *via* the Daramang Ghaut, to the Dharwar frontier, into a carriage road; and they have already sanctioned a considerable outlay for the construction of the portion of the road between Hooblee and the Madras frontier, a distance of about twenty miles. Other important works for the same purpose are also in progress, or are about to be proceeded with, in the districts of Candeish, Canara, Malabar, and Coimbatore. With respect to the provision of saw gins, I am desired to acquaint you that the court have already taken the necessary measures for forwarding a large supply of saws to Bombay, with the least practicable delay, and that they have also engaged the services of a competent engineer to superintend the manufacture of the gins.

I am, &c.,

JAS. C. MELVILL.

HUGH FLEMING, Esq.

This answer shows that the East India Company see how the prosperity of their territory is bound up in this movement.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
<i>Bromley—Kent.</i> —Wedgwood, Sarah	20 0 0	—
<i>Cirencester.</i> —Auxiliary	6 0 0	—
<i>Charlbury.</i> —Sessions, James	—	0 10 0
<i>Playford.</i> —Dickenson, Rev. F.	—	1 0 0
<i>Reading.</i> —Residuary Legatee of John Willis, late of Reading, deceased, being a Sum bequeathed for purposes congenial with the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, but which, owing to the manner of wording the clause, had become a lapsed legacy..	100 0 0	—